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No. 1.

CHAUCEUR AND SOME OF HIS FRIENDS.

In a well-known passage in the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*, Chaucer professes absolute neutrality in a sentimental debate which was amusing the leisure of high society in England:

For trusteth wel, I ne have not undertake
As of the Leef ageyn the Flour to make,
Ne of the Flour to make ageyn the Leef,
No more than of the corn ageyn the sheef.
For, as to me, is leefer non ne lother;
I am withholde yit with never nother.
I not who serveth Leef, ne who the Flour,
That nis nothing the entent of my labour.
For this work is al of another tunne,
Of olde story, er swych stryf was begunne.¹

This is one of Chaucer's characteristic disclaimers, and must not be taken too literally. Very likely he had not joined² either the Order of the Flower or that of the Leaf, but we are not to suppose that he did not even know which of his aristocratic friends belonged to one faction and which to the other. We are reminded of the solemnity with which he protests, in the *Troilus*, that he is a mere outsider in all the affairs of love.

The lines just quoted are good historical material. They show that English court society, in the time of Richard II, entertained

¹ Version A, vss. 71 ff. So, substantially, in version B, vss. 188 ff., but with "swich thing" for "swych stryf." For our present purposes it makes no difference whether A or B is the older version, and that very difficult question may therefore be ignored.

² Cf. vs. 76 with C. T., Prol., vs. 511: "with a brotherhed to ben withholde."

itself by dividing into two amorous orders¹—the Leaf and the Flower—and by discussing, no doubt with an abundance of allegorical imagery, the comparative excellence of those two emblems or of the qualities they typified. If we call in Gower's testimony also,² we are perhaps justified in supposing that the two orders sometimes appeared in force, each member bedecked with the symbol to which he or she had sworn allegiance. Such pageants would accord extremely well with the manners of the day, and it is possible that the pretty anonymous poem of *The Flower and the Leaf*³ reflects the custom. In Gower's lines, however, the pageantry is applied to allegorical purposes, and the anonymous poem is not only allegorical, but also somewhat too late to be used without caution. We may return therefore to the Prologue to the *Legend*.

Just before the place quoted Chaucer makes his apology to certain contemporary poets:

For wel I wot that folk have her-beforn
Of making ropen, and lad away the corn;
And I come after, glening here and there,
And am ful glad if I may find an ere
Of any goodly word that they han left.
And, if hit happe me rehersen eft

¹ Vss. 69, 70 of version A of the Prologue seem to suggest that all servants of love belong to one of these two orders:

Sith it is seid in furthering and honour
Of hem that either serven Leef or Flour.

In other words, "Whatever I say in this book is said in furtherance and honor of all lovers." Cf. *Troilus*, I, st. 3. "Servants of love" and similar phrases, we should remember, were stock terms for "society people," who were all conventionally supposed to be desperately in love. So "lusty Venus children dere," in the *Squire's Tale* (vs. 272), means merely the young ladies and gentlemen at the court ball.

² *Confessio Amantis*, viii, vss. 2462 ff. (Pauli, Vol. III, p. 358; Macaulay, Vol. III, p. 453):

I sih wher lusty Youthe tho,
As he which was a Capitein,
Tofore alle othre upon the plain
Stod with his route wel begon,
Here hevedes kempt, and therupon
Garlandes noight of o colour,
Some of the lef, some of the flour,
And some of grete Perles were;
The newe guise of Beawme there,
With sondri thinges wel devised,
I sih, wherof thei ben queintised.

³ Skeat's theory that *The Flower and the Leaf* was written by a woman has little against it. Still, there is no certainty. The fact that the author speaks in the person of a woman is not conclusive. Deschamps, for instance, does the same in a good many of his poems.

That they han in her fresshe songes sayd,
 I hope that they wil not ben evil apayd,
 Sith it is seid in forthering and honour
 Of hem that either serven Leef or Flour.¹

Curiously enough, all the editors of Chaucer have overlooked four poems by Eustache Deschamps which are of the first importance in the illustration of the Prologue to the *Legend*. They stand together in the authoritative manuscript of the works of Deschamps and may very likely have been written at about the same time. The third is a rondeau, the other three are ballades. The first² begins thus:

Qui est a choiz de deux choses avoir,
 Eslire doit et choisir la meillour.
 Et si me faut que je prengne, savoir:
 De deux arbres ou la fueille ou la flour.

The author then compares the excellences of the Flower and of the Leaf and decides for the Flower, the refrain being

J'aim plus la fleur que la fueille ne face.

The second ballade³ is in praise of the Flower and is of particular interest. The first stanza is as follows:

Pour ce que j'ay oy parler en France
 De deux ordres en l'amoureuse loy,
 Que dames ont chascune en defferance,

¹ Version A, vss. 61 ff. We need have no hesitation in taking this as addressed to contemporary poets rather than to the great of old. Chaucer is not speaking of the material of his *Legend*, but of what he intends to say in the Prologue itself in praise of the Daisy. Further, the language of version B is quite conclusive:

Allas! that I ne had English, ryme or prose,
 Suffisant this flour to preyse aright!
 But helpeth, ye that han conning and might,
 Ye lovers, that can make of sentement;
 In this cas oghte ye be diligent
 To forthren me somewhat in my labour,
 Whether ye ben with the Leef or with the Flour.
 For wel I wot that ye han her-biforn
 Of making ropen, and lad away the corn;
 And I come after, glening here and there,
 And am ful glad if I may find an ere
 Of any goodly word that ye han left.
 And thogh it happe me rehercen eft
 That ye han in your fresshe songes sayd,
 For-bereth me, and both nat evel apayd,
 Sin that ye see I do it in the honour
 Of love, and eek in service of the flour (vss. 66 ff.).

² No. 764, Vol. IV, pp. 237, 238.

³ No. 765, Vol. IV, pp. 259, 260.

L'une fueille et l'autre fleur, j'octroy
 Mon corps, mon cuer a la fleur; et pourquoy?
 Pour ce qu'en tout a pris, loange et grace
 Plus que fueille qui en pourre trespasse
 Et n'a au mieux fors que verde coulour,
 Et la fleur a beauté qui trestout passe.
 A droit jugier je me tien a la flour.

In the fourth stanza "Guillaume Fay, La Tremouille" is requested, apparently, to join the Order of the Flower. This person was chamberlain and marshal of Burgundy and met his death at Nicopolis¹ in 1396. The fifth stanza, however, enables us to come still nearer to the date of the poem, and is otherwise of particular significance:

Et qui vouldra avoir la congnoissance
 Du tresdoulx nom que par oir congnoy
 Et du pais ou est sa demourance,
 Voist en l'ille d'Albyon en recoy,
 En Lancastre le trouvera, ce croy.
 P. H. et E. L. I. P. P. E. trace,
 Assemble tout; ces .viii. lettres compasse,
 S'aras le nom de la fleur de valour,
 Qui a gent corps, beaux yeux et douce face.
 Au droit jugier je me tien a la flour.

The lady here celebrated is of course Philippa, the eldest daughter of Chaucer's patron, John of Gaunt. Deschamps speaks of her as resident in Lancaster, and this, whether his words are to be taken literally or not, fixes one terminus for the date of composition. The Lady Philippa embarked at Plymouth on July 9, 1386,² to accompany her father on his expedition in quest of the Castilian crown,³ and on February 2, 1387,⁴ she was married to João I of Portugal. The ballade must have been written before the first of these two dates, and it may have been written several years

¹ RAYNAUD, *Œuvres de Deschamps*, Vol. X, p. 202.

² See KNIGHTON, Vol. II, pp. 207, 208 (TWYSDEN, cols. 2676, 2677).

³ For the chronology of this expedition, with references to the original authorities, see *Englische Studien*, Vol. XIII, pp. 12 ff.

⁴ DE SOUSA, *Hist. Geneal. da Casa Real Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 11 vols., 1735-45), Vol. II, p. 29. Cf. AYALA, *Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero*, año viii, cap. 6 (*Cronicas*, Madrid, 1780, Vol. II, p. 249); FERNÃO LOPEZ, *Chronica del Rey D. João I*, Part II, chaps. xciii, xcv-xcviii (Lisbon, 1644, Vol. II, pp. 222, 225 ff.); SOARES DA SILVA, *Memorias para Historia de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1730-4), Vol. I, pp. 231 ff., Vol. IV, pp. 50 ff.

earlier, for Philippa was in her twenty-eighth year at the time of her marriage.¹

The third poem² is a rondeau addressed to "tresdouce flour, Elyon de Nillac," and, like the preceding, rejects the Leaf in favor of the Flower.³ It is very short, and affords us nothing of moment except this name. Hélon de Naillac was councillor and chamberlain of the French king.⁴

In the fourth,⁵ however, a ballade in five stanzas and an envoy, Deschamps takes the side of the Leaf, and in the envoy he gives a list of distinguished Frenchmen who belong to that order:

Royne sur fleurs en vertu demourant,
Galoys d'Aunoy, Mornay, Pierre ensemment
De Tremoille, li borgnes Porquerons,
Et d'Araynes Lyonnet vont loant,
Et Thuireval vostre bien qui est grant;⁶
Pour ce a fueille plus qu'a fleur nous tenons.

The significance of these four little poems to students of Chaucer needs no emphasis. They not only give direct testimony of the existence of the two orders in France, but one of them brings us close to Chaucer by informing us that Philippa of Lancaster was the great patroness of the Flower in England. It is hardly possible to doubt that this particular ballade was sent to the Lady Philippa by Deschamps—or by someone for whom he wrote it—and in that case it may well have been seen by Chaucer.⁷

¹ According to her long and highly interesting epitaph, as printed by DE SOUSA, Vol. II, p. 32. Her husband was in his twenty-ninth year, on the same authority. The epitaph also informs us that she died July 18, 1415 (DE SOUSA, Vol. II, p. 35).

² No. 766, Vol. IV, p. 261.

³ Very likely it was written to order for a lady to send to de Naillac.

⁴ See RAYNAUD, as above, Vol. X, p. 215.

⁵ No. 767, Vol. IV, pp. 262-4.

⁶ See RAYNAUD's index under *Aunoy, Mornay, La Trémouille, Poquièrez, Araynes*. Thuireval has not been identified.

⁷ It is now generally admitted that Chaucer's wife was the sister of Katherine Swinford, who was for some time governess of John of Gaunt's daughters, and whose career as the Duke's mistress and subsequently his wife is well-known. Is it possible that Chaucer put the following verses into the Doctor's mouth without thinking of his own sister-in-law?

And ye maistresses in your olde lyf,
That lordes doghtres han in governaunce,
Ne taketh of my wordes no displeaunce;
Thenketh that ye ben set in governinges,
Of lordes doghtres, only for two thinges:
Outher for ye han kept your honestee,
Or elles ye han falle in freletee,

And knowen wel y-nough the olde daunce,
And han forsaken fully swich meschaunce
For evermo; therfore, for Cristes sake,
To teche hem vertu loke that ye ne slake.
A theef of venisoun that hath forlaft
His likerousnesse and al his olde craft
Can kepe a forest best of any man.

—Physician's Tale, vss. 72 ff.

Indeed, it is far from improbable that in writing the passages which have been quoted from the Prologue to the *Legend* Chaucer had his eye on the four poems which Deschamps had devoted to singing the praises either of the Leaf or of the Flower.

May we not go a step farther? Everybody knows that Deschamps sent some of his works to Chaucer, along with a highly complimentary (if not always intelligible) ballade,¹ in which he praises the English poet's translation of the *Roman de la Rose*. He begs Chaucer to receive his "œuvres d'escolier" graciously, and to send him something of his own in return—"de rescripre te prie, Grant translateur, noble Geffroy Chaucier." The return gift desired was of course a poem or poems, and indeed Deschamps makes the point plain enough by requesting a draught "de la fontaine Helye" to quench his thirst. If the manuscript which Deschamps sent to Chaucer contained the poems on the Flower and the Leaf, may not Chaucer have replied by sending him the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*, or, indeed, the whole *Legend*, so far as it was ever completed? It is worth noting that there is a good deal about Chaucer's translation of the *Roman de la Rose* in the Prologue, as in the epistle of Deschamps to Chaucer, and further, that the list which Chaucer gives of his other works in that poem would have greatly interested Deschamps, who, when he wrote his epistle, apparently knew nothing of Chaucer's except the *Roman*.

There are no ascertained dates in the way of one who feels disposed to indulge in such conjectures as those just mentioned. The Prologue to the *Legend* is usually dated 1385,² and the ballade of Deschamps in honor of Philippa of Lancaster cannot, as we have seen, be put later than the middle of 1386, and may belong some years earlier.

There is an Englishman mentioned in Deschamps's address to Chaucer who deserves some notice, as being presumably a friend of both poets, and whom we shall find not without interest on his own account, though he has been completely neglected by Chau-

¹ No. 285, Vol. II, pp. 138-40.

² The arguments in favor of this date are far from conclusive—some of them, indeed, seem quite illusory—but the date itself is not unreasonable.

cerians. He is the *Clifford* from whom Chaucer is to receive the gift sent him by Deschamps:

Mais pran en gré les euvres d'escolier
Que par Clifford de moy avoir pourras.

This undoubtedly is the same person to whom Deschamps refers as an authority on problems of love in a ballade addressed to the Seneschal d'Eu.¹ The writer says that he wishes to marry, and asks the seneschal to give him a written report on the following question:

Lequel vault mieulx a jeune chevalier
Et a homme qui par le monde va,
Belle dame, s'il se veult marier
Qui jeune soit, ou moyenne qui a
L'aage passé? Et laquelle prendra
Pour le meilleur et pour joieuse vie
Le chevalier?

If the seneschal is in doubt, he is to consult "the amorous Clifford:"

Et s'avisez n'estes de la partie,
Demandez ent a l'amoureux Clifford.

The last-quoted verse is the refrain. In the envoi several French authorities are mentioned whom the seneschal is also requested to consult:

Seneschal d'Eu, mes cuers en vous se fie.
Enquerez bien de ceste maladie
Au Tourangoys, a Le Breth et au fort
Au conte d'Eu, Harecourt, Jehan de Trie,
Et pour estre mieulx la chose fournie,
Demandez ent a l'amoureux Clifford.

This list of names indicates that Clifford, whoever he was, enjoyed the acquaintance of the most brilliant French society of the time.² "The Tourangoys" is Louis (brother of Charles VI), who became Duke of Touraine in 1386 and Duke of Orléans in 1392.³ Le Breth is Charles d'Albret, the king's cousin-german. The Comte d'Eu is Philippe d'Artois. Harecourt is Jean VI, Comte d'Harcourt. Jean de Trie is the brother of the admiral

¹ No. 536, Vol. III, pp. 375, 376.

² The names are identified by RAYNAUD in his index to DESCHAMPS.

³ Thus the poem was not written before 1386, and, since Louis gave up the duchy of Touraine to receive that of Orléans, it can hardly have been written after 1392.

Renaud de Trie; he was a marshal of France, and chamberlain of the dukes of Burgundy and Orléans. The Seneschal d'Eu himself was the main author of the famous *Livre des Cent Ballades*.¹

Who was this Clifford? M. Gaston Raynaud, in his invaluable historical index to Deschamps, identifies him with Sir Lewis de Clifford, of whom he gives the following brief account: "Chevalier anglais, ami de Chaucer . . . Il est cité par Froissart parmi les champions de la joute de Saint-Inglevert (1390), et fait aussi partie des ambassades anglaises de 1391 et de 1395." There is every reason to accept M. Raynaud's identification. Even if Deschamps had never written his address to Chaucer, we should still be justified in assuming acquaintanceship between the English poet and Sir Lewis Clifford, for the latter was not only a courtier of Richard II, but seems to have stood in close relation to John of Gaunt and his party, as will appear in what follows.²

Sir Lewis Clifford was one of the best known of English gentlemen, under the degree of a lord,³ in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. He was born about 1336.⁴ In 1352 he was taken prisoner by the French.⁵ Later he was apparently attached to the household of the Black Prince, who made grants to him in 1368, 1372 and 1376,⁶ and whose will he witnessed in 1376.⁷ Clifford remained in this service after Prince Edward's death

¹ The MARQUIS DE QUEUX DE SAINTE-HILAIRE remarks, in a note on this poem of DESCHAMPS: "Cette ballade semble se rapporter au *Livre des cent ballades*" (*Œuvres de Deschamps*, Vol. III, p. 375). The device of proposing a question to the seneschal and asking him to consult different authorities certainly reminds one strongly of this charming work. The Comte d'Eu is one of the persons consulted in the *Livre des cent ballades* (no. 99), and one of the replies (p. 207) bears the name of Monseigneur de Touraine.

² A number of facts about Clifford are collected by MORANT (in his edition of WHITAKER'S *Hist. and Antiq. of the Deanery of Craven*, 1878, pp. 314, 315), by MISS TOULMIN SMITH (*Derby Accounts*, p. 312), and by WYLLIE (*Hist. of England under Henry the Fourth*, Vol. III, pp. 261, 266). See, especially, BELTZ, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, 1841, pp. 260 ff.

³ He appears to have been related to the Barons of Clifford.

⁴ In 1386 Clifford gave evidence in the famous Scrope-Grosvenor controversy, describing himself as above fifty years of age (*Scrope-Grosvenor Roll*, ed. NICOLAS, Vol. II, p. 427). Of course he may have been born some time before 1336. "Lois de Clifort" was in France in the army commanded by Robert d'Artois and the Earl of Pembroke in 1342 (FROISSART, ed. KERVYN, Vol. IV, p. 143).

⁵ FROISSART, ed. KERVYN, Vol. V, p. 302. Cf. BELTZ, p. 261.

⁶ Sept. 1, 42 Ed. III. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II*, 1377-81, p. 158; *ibid.*, 1381-5, p. 33); July 20 in the thirtieth year of his principate (*ibid.*, 1381-5, p. 33); June 5, 50 Ed. III. (*ibid.*, p. 106). The Black Prince died June 8, 1376.

⁷ He is called "knight" (*miles*) in the notarial certificate attached to the will (NICHOLS, *Wills of the Kings and Queens of England*, p. 76).

(1376) and during the principate of Richard (afterward Richard II), who made a grant to him in 1377.¹ In 1373 he had been with John of Gaunt in his *chevauchée* from Brittany to Bordeaux.² On the accession of Richard in 1377, or soon after (1378), Lewis Clifford became a knight of the king's household³—a position which he long retained. In 1378 the Princess Joan, widow of the Black Prince, granted him for her life the custody of Cardigan Castle, and this grant was confirmed, for Clifford's life, by the king in 1382.⁴ The Princess Joan was a supporter of Wyclif, and it was perhaps in her household that Clifford formed those opinions which lend a singular interest to his career. Our first information as to these opinions comes from this same year, 1378, immediately after Richard's accession. At this time, Walsingham tells us, the bishops were remiss in prosecuting Wyclif, being terrified "a facie cujusdam, nec nobilis militis neque potentis, de Curia Principissae Johannaë, videlicet Lodewyci Clyfford, pompose vetantis ne præsumerent aliquid contra ipsum Johannem sententialiter diffinire."⁵ This is testimony from a hostile witness, the feeble spite of whose "nec nobilis neque potentis" we may well forgive in return for the picturesqueness of his "a facie" and especially his "pompose vetantis." Clifford was sufficiently distinguished⁶ to be made a Knight of the Garter in this same year;⁷ and, whether he was "powerful" or not, he had powerful backers in whatever demonstration he may have made, and it is clear that he acted with dash and spirit. Most important of all, he carried his point and cowed the bishops. That he had some understanding with John of Gaunt, the arch-patron of the Lollards,⁸ would be

¹ Feb. 20 and 25, 51 Ed. II. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II, 1377-81*, pp. 106, 156, 157); cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II, 1381-5*, p. 33.

² FROISSART, Vol. VIII, pp. 280, 284.

³ He is so described ("king's knight") in a document of March 22, 1378 (1 Ric. II): *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II, 1377-81*, p. 157.

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II, 1381-5*, p. 185.

⁵ *Hist. Angl.*, Vol. I, p. 356.

⁶ So nobilis must doubtless be taken; for Clifford's family was noble enough if he was related to Lord Clifford (see p. 11, note 2).

⁷ His predecessor, Ingelram de Coucy, retired August 26, 1377 (RYMER, 2d ed., HOLMES, Vol. VII, p. 172), and Clifford received robes for the feast of St. George (April 23), 1378 (*Wardrobe Accounts*). See BELTZ, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, pp. 152, 243, 246 ff., 262; NICOLAS, *Orders of Knighthood, The Garter*, p. 46*, n. 4, App., pp. xxi* ff., liii.

⁸ KNIGHTON says of John of Gaunt: "semper ei [i. e. Wyclif] et suis in omnibus necessitatibus invincibili praesidio affuit, et aliter ipse et sui in foveam interitus viliter cecidissent." Vol. II, p. 157 (TWYSDEN, col. 2647).

extremely probable in any case. At all events, he was in the confidence of this great noble, as is shown by a singular bit of evidence in the public records. In that same year (1378), John of Gaunt obtained from Richard II a confirmation of a privilege previously granted by Edward III. Whenever the Duke should die, the revenues of his real estate were to be received and managed for one year, without interference from the crown officers, by certain designated persons, one of whom was Lewis Clifford.¹ In 1391 Clifford and others were sent to Paris with pacific messages from Richard II to Charles VI.²

Under the year 1382 Knighton mentions Lewis Clifford among the "promotores strenuissimi et propugnatores fortissimi" of the Lollards,³ and under 1387 he is again referred to by Walsingham in similar terms.⁴ He is continually mentioned in the Patent Rolls, usually in connection with some royal grant: 1378,⁵ 1379,⁶ 1380 (July 8 and August 3),⁷ 1381,⁸ 1382,⁹ 1384,¹⁰ 1385,¹¹ 1387.¹² In 1385 (May 4) he was in South Wales at Cardigan Castle, of which he was constable.¹³ In 1389 he is several times mentioned as present at meetings of the Privy Council.¹⁴ Thus we keep him in view without difficulty till 1390, when he appears with distinction in the brilliant pages of Froissart.

In 1389 a three years' truce was made between England and France. In November of the same year, three French knights, Regnault de Roy, the Sire de Saint-Py, and that very distinguished gentleman, Bouciquant the younger, challenged all Christian knights to a tournament to be held in the following spring near the abbey of Saint-Inglevert, in the march of Calais,

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II, 1377-81*, p. 262.

² FROISSART, Vol. XIV, pp. 284, 288, 353; cf. WALLON, *Richard II*, pp. 44, 45, 412, 413.

³ Vol. II, p. 181 (Twysden, col. 2661).

⁴ Among the knights who "hanc sectam coluerunt quam maxime et sustentaverunt" (*Hist. Angl.*, Vol. II, p. 159; *Ypodigma Neustriæ*, p. 348).

⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II, 1377-81*, pp. 170, 185, 208, 225.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 332.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 325, 329.

⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II, 1381-5*, p. 33.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 478.

¹¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II, 1385-9*, p. 53.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 310. From this entry it appears that his wife's name was Eleanor and that she was dead in 1387 (June 18).

¹³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II, 1381-5*, p. 569; cf. FROISSART, Vol. X, p. 394.

¹⁴ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ed. NICOLAS, Vol. I, pp. 6, 11, 122, 14b, 14c, 17.

promising to meet all comers for thirty days,¹—"et prions à tous les nobles chevalliers et escuiers estranges qui venir y voudront, que point ne voellent penser, ne ymaginer que nous faisons ceste chose par orgueil, hayne, ne malvueillance, mais que pour les veoir et avoir leur honnourable compagnie et accointance, laquelle de tous nos coeurs entièrement nous désirons." Among the Englishmen who took part in the Tournament of Saint-Inglevert was Lewis Clifford, who is described by Froissart as "ung moult appert et vaillant chevallier." He jousted on the first day with both Saint-Py and Bouciquant, and "on luy dist qu'il vaillamment et honnourablement il s'estoit porté."²

In 1390, soon after the great tournament, Clifford took part in the Duke of Bourbon's expedition to Barbary. John Beaufort, the eldest son of John of Gaunt and Katherine Swinford, led the English contingent,³ but he was a mere youth, and there is good evidence that Clifford was its responsible commander.⁴ This is additional testimony to the Duke's confidence in him. It is worth notice that among the Frenchmen who went to Barbary were the Comte d'Eu, the Comte d'Harcoart, and Charles d'Albret,⁵ all of whom are mentioned in the envoy to the ballade in which Deschamps refers a question to the Seneschal d'Eu and suggests that he take counsel with "l'amoureux Cliffort." In 1392 Henry, Earl of Derby, made an offering "in die anniuersarii filii Lowys Clifford."⁶ In 1393 or 1394 Clifford was appointed executor

¹ FROISSART, ed. KERVYN, Vol. XIV, pp. 56, 57.

² FROISSART, Vol. XIV, pp. 110, 111. It is interesting to note that Sir Thomas Clifford (afterward Lord Clifford), probably a near relative of Sir Lewis, had formerly challenged Bouciquant. A document given in RYMER (2d ed., HOLMES, Vol. VII, p. 526) from *Rot. Franc. 10 Ric. II.* and dated June 25 [1386], notifies "Northampton le Heraud" of his challenge and gives the king's permission to the herald "de passer vers les parties de France, parmy noz Enemys, a persuers le dit Bosoigne en chescune part qui vous semblera le meultz." An entry in the Patent Rolls, 11 Ric. II, May 18, 1388 (*Cal.*, 1388-9, p. 447) refers to certain jousts and other feats of arms against the king's enemies the French, performed by the same Sir Thomas, at the request of the said enemies, in the presence of William de Beauchamp, Captain of Calais. In this same year he was one of the knights dismissed from the court when John of Gaunt lost power and Richard II submitted to the Duke of Gloucester's party (KNIGHTON, Vol. II, p. 237, TWYSDEN, col. 2705; WALSHINGHAM, *Hist. Angl.*, Vol. II, p. 173).

³ FROISSART, Vol. XIV, p. 156.

⁴ CABARET, *Chronique du bon Duc Loys de Bourbon*, ed. CHAZAUD, p. 249. This authority, who derived his information from a French knight who was a member of the expedition, gives the number of the English as twenty-five gentlemen and a hundred archers (p. 222).

⁵ See DESCHAMPS's ballade on the expedition, No. 769, Vol. IV, p. 266; cf. FROISSART, Vol. XIV, pp. 155, 156.

⁶ *Derby Accounts*, ed. TOULMIN SMITH, p. 275.

of the will of Isabel, Duchess of York.¹ In 1393 Lewis Clifford, knight of the king's chamber, was one of several commissioners sent to Picardy to negotiate for peace with France.² He was also, in 1395, one of the ambassadors sent to arrange for a marriage between Richard II and Isabel, daughter of Charles VI.³

Clifford seems to have remained true to his Lollard convictions until shortly before his death. In 1395 he is mentioned again by Walsingham among the "campi-ductores" of that sect,⁴ though in the same year his name occurs in a list of Englishmen who had signified their desire to join the order of Chevaliers de la Passion projected by Philippe de Mézières.⁵ In 1402, however, perhaps under the influence of failing health, his conscience began to trouble him. Despite the orthodox reaction, which was then in full swing, there were many secret adherents of Wycliffite doctrines, and Clifford gave the Archbishop of Canterbury information of their tenets, even furnishing him a list of heretical persons.⁶ That this act, however it may affect the modern reader, was the result of passionate remorse, it would be brutal to doubt in view of Clifford's extraordinary and pathetic will, which was certainly drawn up when he was on his deathbed, since it is dated September 17, 1404, and was proved on the fifth of the following December.⁷ In this he describes himself as "God's traitor" and directs that his vile carrion shall be buried in the farthest corner of the churchyard of the parish in which he dies, and that no stone or

¹ The will is said to have been proved January 6, 1392 (NICOLAS, *Testamenta Vetusta*, Vol. I, p. 135)—doubtless an error for 1394-95. The countess died in 1394. The connection of Clifford with the Lancaster family comes out in this and the preceding item. Henry of Derby was the son of John of Gaunt, and the Countess Isabel was the Duke's sister-in-law, the daughter of Pedro the Cruel.

² Ric. II. The commission, dated February 22, 1392 (i. e., 1393), is in RYMER, 2d ed., HOLMES, Vol. VII, p. 738. It mentions as the other commissioners the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, Walter, Bishop of Durham, Thomas Earl Marshal, Thomas Percy, and Dr. Richard Rouhale.

³ FROISSART, Vol. XV, pp. 147, 164, 194, 232.

⁴ *Hist. Angl.*, Vol. II, p. 216; *Ypodigma Neustriac*, p. 368.

⁵ Published from the MS by MOLINIER, *Archives d'Orient Latin*, Vol. I, p. 363. The Duke of Lancaster appears in the same document (which is the work of Philippe himself) as one who has promised to aid the order. "Othe de Granson, chevalier d'honneur du roy d'Engleterre et du duc de Lencastre," is also mentioned by Philippe as particularly active in forwarding the new order.

⁶ WALSHINGHAM, *Hist. Angl.*, Vol. II, p. 253; *Ypodigma*, p. 396.

⁷ It is printed from the original in the Prerogative Court by DUGDALE, *Baronage of England*, Vol. I, pp. 341, 342.

other memorial shall mark the spot, in order that it may remain unknown forever.¹ Those scholars who have found incredible the story of Chaucer's deathbed repentance told by Dr. Thomas Gascoigne² may do well to consider this unquestionably authentic document, which expresses the last wishes of a very gallant and accomplished gentleman, a friend of Chaucer and of Deschamps, alike acceptable at the French court and the English, and apparently at one time an intimate associate of the brilliant circle of Louis d'Orléans.

Clifford's will contains a name of much interest to students of Chaucer. After certain small bequests, he leaves the residue of his goods and chattels to three persons, who are also made supervisors of his will. These three legatees were, we may be sure, trusted friends of the testator, and it is with some satisfaction, therefore, that the investigator observes among them Sir Thomas Clanvowe, who passes for the probable author of *The Book of Cupid*, otherwise known as *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale*, one of the most graceful and pleasing of the pseudo-Chaucerian poems. Before we proceed, however, it will be necessary to consider how far the evidence justifies Professor Skeat in ascribing this poem to Sir Thomas.

The Book of Cupid is followed in one manuscript³ by the words explicit Clanvowe," and there is no reason to doubt that Clanvowe was the author's name.⁴ There are but two candidates for the honor, Sir John and Sir Thomas, and Professor Skeat decides for the latter.⁵ His main reason appears to be the title, *The Boke of Cupide, God of Love*, which he thinks is imitated from that of a poem by Hoccleve, *Liber Cupidinis Dei Amoris*. Hoccleve's

¹ WYLIE, *History of England under Henry IV*, Vol. III, p. 296, n. 2, cites similar provisions from the will of Sir Thomas Latimer, another repentant Lollard. Latimer's will is dated September 13, 1401, and was proved May 21, 1402. It appoints Sir Lewis Clifford one of the "overseers of this my will" (NICOLAS, *Testamenta Vetusta*, Vol. I, pp. 158, 159). Latimer's wife died in 1402, and also made Clifford a supervisor (*ibid.*, p. 160).

² The passage is not given in the volume of extracts from GASCOIGNE edited by THOROLD ROGERS (*Loci e Libro Veritatum*, Oxford, 1881), but it was printed from the manuscript by HALES in *The Athenæum* for March 31, 1888, and again in his *Folia Litteraria*, pp. 110, 111. Professor Hales's reflections on the anecdote are judicious and temperate.

³ Camb. Univ. Library, ff. 1. 6.

⁴ Professor SKEAT was the first to note this (*Academy*, May 2, 1896, p. 365; see also his *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, 1897, pp. lvii ff.).

⁵ He is followed by VOLLMEYER, in his edition of the poem (Berlin, 1896), pp. 53 ff.

poem was written in 1402,¹ and Sir John died, it is thought, in 1391. But there is no force in the argument. The supposed imitation consists merely in adding to the name *Cupid* the phrase *god of love*, and it is impossible to attach any importance to such a commonplace.²

All other tests yield results quite as favorable to Sir John as to Sir Thomas. The author appears to have known and utilized Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls*, and his *Prologue to the Legend of Good Women*. Here there is no difficulty, for the former is usually dated about 1382 and the latter about 1385; nor, if these dates are rejected, is there any temptation to bring either of the two works down to 1390. Again, the first two lines of *The Book of Cupid* reproduce vss. 927 and 928 of *The Knight's Tale*, but this is thought to have been written not later than 1390, and may be earlier. There is, then, nothing in the sources of Clanvowe's poem to make Sir Thomas a better candidate than Sir John. Sir John was alive in 1390, since he went on the Barbary expedition in that year.

In st. 57, it is proposed that the birds shall assemble on

The morow of seynt Valentynes day,
Under the maple that is feire and grene,
Before the chambre wyndowe of the quene
At Wodestok, upon the grene lay (vss. 282-5).

By "the queen" Skeat understands Joan of Navarre, who married Henry IV in 1403, and who received, perhaps as a part of her dower, the manor and park of Woodstock. But the reference may just as well be to Anne of Bohemia, wife of Richard II, whom Sir John Clanvowe, a knight of the king's household, would naturally have delighted to honor. It so happens that Richard and Anne kept their Christmas at Woodstock in 1390,³ and no doubt they were there on other occasions at about this date.

¹ This date is in the poem itself.

² The list of fancied imitations of Hoccleve, drawn up by VOLLMER, pp. 59 ff., is of no significance.

³ WALSHINGHAM, *Hist. Angl.*, Vol. II, p. 195. E. MARSHALL, *Early History of Woodstock Manor*, 1873, p. 104, says that they kept their Christmas at Woodstock in 1389 and 1390, but both his entries really go back to this passage of Walsingham, whose 1390 equals 1389, since he begins his year at Christmas.

Finally, there is nothing whatever in the language of *The Book of Cupid* that forbids our putting it as early as 1389 or 1390. Indeed, the treatment of final *-e* is more favorable to that date than to Skeat's 1403, since, as that scholar himself has observed, the author is quite as inclined to preserve this sound as Chaucer.¹ Indeed, Professor Skeat regards his metre in this particular as "for the fifteenth century, quite unique." It is difficult to make up one's mind on so troublesome a question as the chronology of *-e* in Middle English, but it is safe to say that the language of *The Book of Cupid* points, to 1390 or earlier, rather than to 1403.

All things considered, then, it seems rather more likely that the Clanvowe to whom the Cambridge MS ascribes our poem was Sir John Clanvowe than that it was Sir Thomas.

John de Clanvowe was the son of Philip de Clanvowe,² a Herefordshire gentleman who was M. P. for that county in 1322, 1339, and 1340,³ and who held other important public offices.⁴

¹ Cf. VOLLMER (p. 75, n.): "Sicherlich ist der *vf.* des gedichts, sei es, dass für seinen dialekt der process des verstümmens des finalen *-e* weniger rasch vor sich gegangen ist, sei es, dass der einfluss Chaucer's auf ihn so mächtig war, in dem genannten punkte weniger weit gediehen, als z. b. zeitgenossen wie Lydgate und Capgrave." SKEAT regards him as even more conservative than Chaucer (*Chaucerian Pieces*, pp. lix-lx).

² *Parliamentary Returns*, Vol. I, p. 143 (*Parl. Papers*, 1878, Vol. LXII, Part I): "Johannes, fil' Philippi de Clanvowe" (1348). Cf. W. R. WILLIAMS, *Parl. Hist. of the County of Hereford* (Brecknock, 1896), p. 23.

³ *Parl. Returns*, Vol. I, pp. 67, 126, 130; cf. WILLIAMS, as above, pp. 18, 22. Williams remarks that Clanvowe also "received a special summons to Parliament 18 Aug., 1337" (p. 18). It is not quite certain that the M. P. of 1322 was the same Philip as the M. P. of 1339 and 1340 (see next note).

⁴ There were two persons of this name (probably father and son or uncle and nephew) in Herefordshire and Wales in the fourteenth century. One of these was an adherent of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster in the proceedings that led to the death of Piers Gaveston, and his name occurs, with many others, in a pardon issued in 1313 (*Parliamentary Writs*, ed. PALGRAVE, Appendix to Vol. II, Div. II, p. 68). The same Philip appears to be referred to in 1321, 1322, 1323, and 1324 (*Parl. Writs*, as above, pp. 166, 212, 235, 249, 255; cf. Vol. II, Div. III, p. 679; *Cal. Close Rolls Ed. II*, 1319-23, p. 430). It was perhaps this same Philip who was deputy justice in South Wales in 1334 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls Ed. III*, 1334-38, p. 20) and who, in 1335 and 1336, was one of two commissioners to protect the harbors of Wales against the Scots (*Rotuli Scotiae*, Vol. I, pp. 365, 379, 427). He seems to be mentioned as living in 1339 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls Ed. III*, 1339-40, p. 279, cf. p. 284) and to have died in that same year (*Cal. Inq. post Mortem*, Vol. II, p. 91). See also C. J. ROBINSON, *Castles of Herefordshire*, 1869, pp. 40, 41. This elder (?) Philip may have been the M. P. of 1322. The second Philip (to whom some of the preceding entries may refer) is mentioned (probably) in 1338, 1339, and (certainly) in 1340, 1341, and 1344 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls Ed. III*, 1338-40, pp. 135, 502; 1340-43, p. 155; 1343-45, p. 395; *Cal. Close Rolls Ed. III*, 1339-41, pp. 282, 317, 436, 490). He was doubtless the M. P. of 1339 and certainly the M. P. of 1340; perhaps he was also the M. P. of 1322. In 1346 he owned real estate in Yavessore, Okel Pychard, and Houton, in Herefordshire (*Feudal Aids*, Vol. II, pp. 391, 394, 397). Sir John appears to have been his son. The name Clanvowe is spelled in many ways—*Clauenogh*, *Clavenou*, *Clevenowe*, *Clanewoue*, *Clannowe*, *Clannou*, *Clanvow(e)*, etc.

John Clanvowe was himself M. P. for the county in 1348.¹ In 1373 he received from Edward III a grant of £50 a year, mostly from the farm of the city of Hereford.² In 1376 he is mentioned as a mainpernor.³ On the accession of Richard II, or soon after, he became (like Clifford) a Knight of the King's Chamber,⁴ a position which he seems to have retained till his death. He is continually mentioned in the Patent Rolls from 1379 on, sometimes for grants, often in connection with the public service. Thus in 1381 and 1385 he was a commissioner to survey the condition of Wales;⁵ in 1382 and 1383 he was a justice;⁶ in 1386 he was directed to survey Orewell⁷ on the strength of a report that the French king was planning an invasion in that quarter.⁸ In 1381 he was made steward of the king's lordship of Haverford in Wales for life and constable of Haverford Castle,⁹ and in 1385 he obtained a grant "of the town, castle, and lordship" of Haverford, "to hold as fully as the king's father held the same."¹⁰ The entries enable us to keep him in view in 1379, 1381, 1382, 1383, 1385, 1386, 1390.¹¹

Sir John Clanvowe was well known in France and is several times mentioned by Froissart. He was with Sir John Chandos when that distinguished knight was mortally wounded at the Lussac bridge in 1369.¹² He was one of the English ambassadors at the convention of Lelinghen, in 1389, which arranged for a three years' truce with France.¹³ This truce immediately preceded the famous Tournament of Saint-Inglevert.¹⁴ Sir John was an associate of Sir Lewis Clifford, and there can be little doubt

¹ *Parl. Returns*, Vol. I, p. 143; cf. WILLIAMS, as above, p. 23.

² *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II*, 1377-81, p. 323 (a confirmation of the grant).

³ *Rot. Parl.*, Vol. II, p. 327.

⁴ At least as early as 1381 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II*, 1381-85, p. 17); cf. p. 8, and 1377-81, p. 627.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1381-85, pp. 17, 575.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 138, 246, 285.

⁷ Cf. CHAUCER, *C. T.*, *Prol.*, vs. 277.

⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II*, 1385-89, p. 214.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1377-81, p. 627.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1385-89, pp. 14, 33.

¹¹ See, besides the places already cited, *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II*, 1377-81, p. 406; 1381-85, pp. 8, 104, 153, 164, 214; 1385-89, pp. 130, 169, 173; 1389-92, pp. 173 (cf. RYMER, 2d ed., HOLMES, Vol. VII, pp. 654, 655), 217, 361.

¹² FROISSART, Vol. VII, pp. 447, 449, 456, 458.

¹³ The commission is dated November 26, 1388 (RYMER, 2d ed., HOLMES, Vol. VII, pp. 610, 612, 613); see also FROISSART, Vol. XIV, p. 4; cf. Vol. XIII, p. 318. WALSHINGHAM also mentions Clanvowe as on this embassy (*Hist. Angl.*, Vol. II, pp. 179, 182).

¹⁴ See p. 10, above.

that the two were close friends. Both were knights of the king's household, and there is a record of their being present together at a meeting of the Privy Council (1389).¹ In 1380 they were both executors of the will of Guichard d'Angle, Earl of Huntingdon.² Like Clifford, Clanvowe was a Lollard, and the two knights are mentioned in the same breath by Walsingham among the "milites qui hanc sectam coluerunt quam maxime et sustentaverunt" in 1387.³ In 1390 Clanvowe accompanied Sir Lewis Clifford to Barbary in the Duke of Bourbon's expedition.⁴ It is not certain that he ever returned. He is thought to have died before April, 1390,⁵ or, at the latest, in 1391. According to Froissart,⁶ he was one of the envoys who visited the French king at Tours in the winter of 1391-92 and arranged for the Conference of Amiens. There is positive evidence that his death took place before March 4, 1392.⁷ Sir Thomas Clanvowe, whom Clifford appointed as one of his supervisors, and to whom Skeat ascribes *The Book of Cupid*, was probably the son of Sir John.⁸

¹ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ed. NICOLAS, Vol. I, p. 6. Clanvowe is several times mentioned in the records in the same volume (pp. 7, 9, 14a, 14c, 88).

² NICOLAS, *Testamenta Vestuta*, Vol. I, p. 100. In 1385 they were executors of the will of Joan, Princess of Wales (NICHOLS, *Wills of the Kings and Queens of England*, p. 80).

³ *Hist. Angl.*, Vol. II, p. 159; *Ypodigma Neustriac*, p. 348.

⁴ CABARET (*Chronique du bon Duc Louis de Bourbon*, p. 222) calls him simply the "sire de Climbo"; but Malvern, the continuator of Higden, supplies the necessary identification by giving the initial of his first name (HIGDEN, ed. LUMBY, *Appendix*, Vol. IX, p. 234—"dominus J. Clanvowe"). WYLIE (*Hist. of England under Henry IV*, Vol. III, p. 261) says that it was Sir Thomas who went to Barbary, and in this error he is followed by SKEAT (*Chaucerian Pieces*, p. lviii) and by VOLLMER.

⁵ NICOLAS, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, Vol. I, p. 88.

⁶ Vol. XIV, pp. 355, 356. FROISSART also makes him one of Clifford's associates in the negotiations of 1391 (Vol. XIV, p. 288), but this is perhaps an error (cf. p. 284).

⁷ In the Issue Roll, 15 Ric. II, March 4, payment is recorded to Peter de Hiltoft, king's engraver, for the engraving of a seal for the office of steward of the lordship of Haverford, which lordship "by the death of John Clanvowe (printed Clannowe) hath now come into the King's hands." DEVON, *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 246.

⁸ I have found the following evidence. Thomas Clanvowe is mentioned as the king's esquire in 1391 (*Pat. Rolls Rich. II*, 1388-92, p. 496), and this would be natural if his father had been Sir John, who was long a knight of the king's chamber. Thomas was M. P. for Herefordshire in 1394 and 1397 (*Parl. Returns*, Vol. I, pp. 247, 253; cf. WILLIAMS, *Parl. Hist. of the County of Hereford*, pp. 28, 29) and Sheriff in 1398, 1399 (WILLIAMS, p. 28; cf. Lancaster record quoted by WYLIE, Vol. IV, p. 184). Sir John and his father Philip had held these same offices. All this suggests that Sir Thomas was Sir John's heir and recognized representative. In 1428 Robert Whitney is assessed for a fee in Ocle Pichard "nuper Philippi Clanvowe" (*Feudal Aids*, Vol. II, p. 415). Now Thomas Clanvowe's wife was Perrine Wheteneye, who had been in the queen's service (*Pat. Rolls Rich. II*, 1388-92, p. 496; cf. p. 250). She survived him and her will was proved in 1422 (J. CHALLENGOR C. SMITH, *Index of the Wills proved in the Prerog. Court of Canterbury 1283-1558*, Vol. I, p. 121). Again, Philip

The career of Sir John Clanvowe was much like that of Sir Lewis Clifford except at the end: there is nothing to show that Clanvowe gave up his Lollard opinions. Both were men of note in their day and active in the public service at home and abroad. Their acquaintance with Chaucer must have been intimate,¹ and it is pleasant to know that it was in part a literary friendship: Clifford brought the greetings of Deschamps to the English poet, and Clanvowe was Chaucer's poetical disciple.

If the inferences in this paper are sound, we have two pieces of evidence for dating Chaucer's works: (1) the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* perhaps alludes to a poem composed by Deschamps before 1386, and may have been written not very long after that poem; and (2) *The Knight's Tale* is quoted by Clanvowe in a poem written before 1392, and probably before 1391.

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March, 1903.

Clanvowe had half a fee in Yavesor (Yasor) (*Feudal Aids*, Vol. II, p. 391); Sir Thomas's will, proved 1410, appears to be dated at this place (*Genealogist*, Vol. V, p. 326), and his widow's certainly is. Finally, his will mentions a former vicar of Ocle, and Philip Clanvowe held property in Ocle Pychard, as we have seen, and is said to have been lord of the manor. WYLIE, *Hist. of England under Henry IV*, Vol. III, pp. 297, 333, has collected some information about Sir Thomas and other Clanvoves, but it needs correction.

¹ It is not impossible that Chaucer's son "litell Lewis," for whom he wrote the *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, was named after Sir Lewis Clifford. The name Lewis is not known to have belonged to any of Chaucer's kin.

REFERENCES TO THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN THE GERMAN LITERATURE OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

I. LUTHER AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

THE earliest references to the English language in the German literature of the sixteenth century are to be found in Luther's writings. Even before he opened his hospitable house at Wittenberg to the English and Scottish refugees—a year before Tindale printed at Cologne the first sheets of his quarto New Testament—and a year after his vigorous answer to Henry's Latin *Streitschrift*, we find Luther remarkably well instructed as to certain features of English trade; so well instructed that we cannot forbear the idea that either the fugitive Tindale¹ (whose name, however, is never found in the *Table-Talk* and the *Letters*), or some Hanse merchant who had watched English trade at the Steelyard must have given him a detailed description of certain practices in the cloth trade. It is Luther's wonderful little pamphlet *On Commerce and Usury* (1524) in which we find not only the patriotic remark that England should have "the less of gold if Germany would not buy its cloth," but also a sentence which contains a description of what might be called a monopoly in a certain branch of trade, a "corner," and even a sort of syndicate or trust. This passage contains further the earliest modern English word quoted—as far as I know—in a German book. He says:²

Item | das ist auch ein Griff des eigen nutzes | das drey oder vier
Kauffleut haben einerley oder zweierley wahr vnter iren henden | welche
ander Leute nicht haben | oder nicht feil haben | wenn sie nu mercken |
das solche wahr wil gelt gelten | vnd alle tage tewrer wird | von Kriegs
wegen oder Vnfals halben | So rotten sie sich | vnd geben den andern
für | wie solche Wahr fast gesucht werde | vnd nicht viel sind | die der-
gleichen feil haben. Sind aber etliche | die der gleichen haben | so

¹ Dr. Edward Lee writes to Henry VIII from Bordeaux, December 2, 1525: "An Englishman . . . at the solicitation of Luther with whome he is hathe translated the Newe Testament into English." Cf. FLÜGEL, *Neuenglisches Lesebuch*, Vol. I, p. 480.

² *Schriften*, Jhena, 1555, Vol. II, p. 477.

nutzen sie einen frembden aus | den lassen sie alle solche wahr auff-
 keuffen | Wenn sie denn die selbigen wahr gantz in jren henden haben |
 machen sie einen Bund mit einander auff die weise. Wir wollen diese
 Wahr | weil keine mer furhanden ist | so vnd so hoch auff's gelt halten |
 Vnd welcher sie neher gibt | der sol so viel oder so viel verfallen sein.

DI's stück | höre ich | treiben die Engellender Kauffleute am gröbsten
 vnd meisten | wenn sie Englische oder Lündische Tücher verkeuffen.
 Denn man sagt | sie halten einen besondern Raht zu diesem handel | wie
 ein raht in einer stad | vnd dem raht müssen alle die Engellender
 gehorchen | die Englische oder Lündische Tücher verkeuffen | bey
 gena[n]ter straffe. Vnd durch solchen raht wird bestimt | wie thewr
 sie jre tücher geben sollen | vnd welchen tag oder stunde | sie sollen feil
 haben | oder nicht. Der oberst in diesem raht heisst der *Koyrtmeister*¹ |
 vnd ist nicht viel weniger gehalten | denn ein Fürst | Da sihe | was der
 geitz vermag | vnd furnemen thar.

Luther's *Letters* and *Table-Talk* of the following years show
 that there were two men from whom he must have received a
 great deal of information about England: Robert Barnes and
 Alesius. But there is no doubt that there were other Englishmen
 not mentioned there who had been attracted to Wittenberg and
 came to Luther's house and table, e. g., the unhappy Thomas
 Benet (*alias* Dugate) who after his return from Germany imi-
 tated at Exeter Luther's act of nailing "theses" to the church
 door, for which he was burned in 1531.²

Robert Barnes seems the first in point of time. He broke out
 of his prison, where he had been kept since 1525,³ in 1528 and
 arrived at Wittenberg before November of that year.⁴ He con-
 cealed his true name under the pseudonym of "Doctor Antonius,"
 and Luther's household, of which he became a member, seems to
 have called him simply "der Engellender."⁵ He was introduced
 to Luther's friends,⁶ Melanchthon, Justus Jonas, Pomeranus,

¹ This word is not in GRIMM. Murray quotes "the Courte of our Compney" from the *Mercers' Company Minute-book*, 1527 (referring to a court of 1456).

² Cf. ELLIS, *Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men* (Camden Society, 1843), p. 24.

³ "(1528) tercio carcerariae incisionis suae anno diruptis catenis in Germaniam ad Lutherum aufugit. Vbi apud eum aliosque verae pietatis amatores, ad aliquot annos servatus, in Angliam reuertebatur."—BALE, *Catalogus*, 1537, fol. 667.

⁴ Barnes, doubtless, is "der Engellender" of *Table-Talk*, November 14, 1528 (ed. 1567, fol. 566a). If we regard Bale's date "ad tribunal raptus anno Christi 1525, in Februario" as correct, the "probably" in 1528 of the *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, s. v., p. 254b, becomes superfluous.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 55, 62, 342, 565 (fol. 185: "ein Engeleser").

⁶ Cf. Foixe's life, "extracted out of" the "Monumentes," printed before BARNES'S *Works*, 1573, fol. 180.

Hegendorf, and even to the Elector Johann Friedrich.¹ At first he did not talk German, but Luther gave him a "preceptor" in the person of his own wife, because she "far" surpassed her husband in this point!² He seems to have made good progress, for in 1531 appeared his *Furnemlich Artickel der Christlichen Kirchen*, in German. Luther talked the matter of Henry's divorce over with him, "disputed it familiarly,"³ and when he went back to England (*via Lübeck*), in the autumn of 1531, he carried Luther's strong letter on the divorce question with him, to be published or not, which Luther had unwillingly given him "pro . . . importunitate et pertinacia."⁴ Barnes seems to have been back in 1533, unless the entry of his name in the "Album," dated "20 Junij 1533,"⁵ is a mistake. In September, 1535, he arrived *from* England as the king's ambassador in this matter, and elicited a number of letters from Luther,⁶ who was not at all edified at the business. He does not even seem to have controlled his temper, as he confesses humorously himself; he "acted the Luther," and seems to have addressed the old inmate of his house "verbis verdriesslicissimis."⁷ The matter of the divorce was simple enough for *him*, and the subtleties of the English law did not shake him; they scarcely interested him.⁸ He knew his "Heintz" too well, and, for political reasons, did not wish to have his name cited in the matter.

Four years later (January, 1539) we find Barnes again in Ger-

¹ Cf. Luther's letter to the Elector, January 11, 1533—*Briefe*, ed. DE WETTE, Vol. IV, p. 662.

² "Ein Engellender | ein sehr gelehrter | frommer Mann | gieng mit Doctor Mart. zutisch | verstunde die deutsch Sprach nicht | zu dem sagte er | Ich wil euch mein Weib zum Preceptor geben | die sol euch die deutsche Sprache fein leren | denn sie ist sehr beredt | kan es so fertig | dass sie mich damit weit vbertrifft. Wiewol weiß Weiber wol beredt sind | das ist an jnen nicht zu loben | es stehet jnen basz an dasz sie stailen | vnd nicht wol reden können | das zieret sie viel besser." (Fol. 62a.)

³ "mea sententia quam coram audivisti, mi Antoni, cum ea de re disputaremus familiariter," in the second version of his letter to Barnes of September 5, 1531—DE WETTE, *Briefe*, Vol. IV, p. 300.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 295.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 467.

⁶ Cf. letter to Spalatin, September 6, 1535, *Briefe*, Vol. IV, p. 630 ("Doctor Antonius, niger ille Anglicus, legatus sui Regis ad Principem nostrum"); September 12, *ibid.*, 632; November 10, *ibid.*, 648; December, *ibid.*, 655; January 11, 1536, *ibid.*, 662.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, 648.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, 663; "Ich will mich in ihr Juristerey nicht vertiefen, und kunnt ich auch nichts mehr, denn wie eine Gans gag, dazu sagen. Aber ich halt, mein voriger Sentenz soll auch bleiben, ohn dass ich sonst nicht will mich unfreundlich gegen sie in dem oder andern Stucken erzeigen, auf dasz sie nicht dächten, wir Deutschen wären Stein und Holz, etc."

many, and a notice of a conversation with him in the *Table-Talk*,¹ and in October of the same year we come across a quotation from a former conversation between Luther and Barnes, where the latter had given a pretty frank statement on Henry's character.² Whatever may have been Luther's feelings toward Barnes during the period of his latter negotiations in Henry's name, he devoted a beautiful and warm eulogy to his former housemate, after he had suffered the death of the martyr, July 30, 1540.

Dr. Alexander Alesius, the Scottish refugee who came to Wittenberg in 1533, is not mentioned as often in Luther's letters as Barnes, but Luther quotes at least two letters of Alesius, one written before September 20, 1536, and referring to the coronation of Jane Seymour and the state of the kingdom during those months of rapid political changes,³ and the other written from Frankfurt an der Oder.⁴ Alesius may be responsible for Luther's opinion on the Scottish character.⁵

These were the principal figures in Luther's circle to talk on England and the English and fragments of their talks are scattered through the *Table-Talk*. At one time the friends discoursed on the air of the different countries, the Italian air being "sehr subtil," the French not unlike the German, when "der Engellender" said: "In Engelland regiert die Pestilenz immerdar | und höret nicht auff."⁶ At another time they discoursed on

¹ Fol. 185: "Anno 39. 21. Januarij fragte ein Engeleser D. Antonius Barns D. M. L. ob auch die Christen vnd Gottselige | so nu gerecht weren durch den Glauben an Christum | vmb der folgenden werck willen etwas verdienen! Denn solche frage were in Engeland sehr gemein. Antwortet Doct. M. L., etc."

² October 23, 1539, *Briefe, loc. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 217: "Der König ist ein Versucher, und meinert nichts mit Ernst; das haben wir wohl erfahren von den Engelländern, so bey uns gewesen, da wir glauben mussten aus christlicher Liebe, es wäre Ernst, aber zuletzt, da wir uns müde mit grossen Unkosten E. K. F. G. gedispütiret hatten, war es alles mit einer Bratwurst versiegelt, und stund alles bey des Königes Wohlgefallen, sagten selbst: Rex noster est inconstans. Und zu mehrmalen sagte D. Antonius: Unser König achtet der Religion und des Evangelii nichts überall. . . . Über das sollte es heissen, wie die Engelländer hier sich merken liessen, dass wir müssten den König lassen seyn und heissen Caput und Defensor Evangelii. . . . Er sollte Papst seyn. . . ."

³ Written from London, where he was studying medicine.—*Briefe*, Vol. V, p. 23.

⁴ Quoted in *Table-Talk*, 68b.

⁵ Alesius furnished Münster with a "Beschreybung der küniglichen statt Edinburg" and a picture of the town and castle (*Cosmographie*, ed. 1569, fol. lxxi ff.), which is not noticed by his bibliographers. He is, besides, doubtless responsible for the exceptionally full account of Scotland and its history in Münster.

⁶ "Anno xxviii). den xliiii). Novembris."—Fol. 565a. The same argument is to be found in the "Descriptio Australioris Brytanniae," added to the second part of BALE's *Catalogus*. (Basiliae, 1559), fol. 19.

the Scotch, and Luther shows some knowledge of the border-raids and a good deal of feeling as to the rough character of the nation, besides making a wonderful attempt at an etymological explanation of the name.¹ He is informed on the English possessions in France, and their loss, with the exception of Calais, "the best port in France," entirely inhabited by English people, where everybody had to talk English under grievous penalties.²

Finally the *Table-Talk* contains two references to the English language. In the first one, dated December 19, 1538, he alludes to the sound of the pronunciation of English and groups it with the French, Italian, and Spanish, and in the other reference, which is undated, he classifies it with the "Saxon" tongue, "as it is talked in Westphalia and the Netherlands," although it is much "corrupted."

I print these two references in full from the ed. 1567:

[fol. 564a]

I. VON VNTERSCHIED DER SPRACHEN.

Anno XXXVIII. den XIX. Decemb. ward mancherley geredet von den lenden Teutscher Nation | welche allzumal einfeltiger weren | vnnd warheit lieber hetten | den Frantzosen | Italiener | Spanier | Engellender | &c. Welches auch die Sprache vnd auszreden gnugsam anzeigte | Das sie leppisch vnnd zischende die wort pronunciren vnnd reden | darum saget man von den Frantzosen | Sie schreiben anders | denn sie reden | Vnnd reden anders | denn sie es meinen. Aber die Teutsche sprach ist die aller vollkommenste | &c., &c.

[fol. 563b]

II. ENGELLAND.

Ich gleub Engelland sey ein stück Teutschszlandes | Denn sie brauchen der Sechsischen Sprache | wie in Westphalen und Niderlande | wiewol sie sehr corrupirt ist. Ich halte die Teutschen sind vor zeiten hinein transferirt vnd gesetzt | wie noch heut zu tage der bischof zu Cöln schreibet sich Hertzog zu Engern | da jetzund Brem | Hamburg liegt | Etwa ist Britannia genandt | Darnach Angeria vom Volck | das

¹ *Table-Talk*, 566a: "Schotten sind die aller hoffertigsten | stöltzsten vnd vnuersehmetesten | . . . meinen vnnd lassen sich düncken | sie seien alleine leute fur andern | haben sich in Teuschland geflochten schier in alle Stette. Zu Erfurt [where Luther seems to have had his first experiences with the Scots!] vnd Würtzburg haben sie eigene Klöster mit reichem einkommen vnd Zinsen | nur für die Schotten | nemmen sonst niemands von andern Nationen ein . . . vnnd lest sich ansehen | als weren sie daher genandt Scotos | Sectos | Schnitten abgeschieden | wie sie denn keine Nachbarschaft halten | Fallen aber gar liederlich in Engelland vnuersehens | vnd plündern | also | das in Engelland | so nach Schottland wertz ligt | und dran stößt | die besten vnd fruchtbarsten Ecker vngebawet vnnd wüß ligen.

² Fol. 566a.—On the multitude of *Bettelklöster*, fol. 342a.

hinein gefurt ist. Denische vnd Engelische Sprache ist Sechsisch | welche recht Teutsch ist | Die Oberlendische Sprach ist nicht die rechte Teutsche Sprache | Nimbt den Mund vol vnd weit | vnd lautet hart. Aber die Sechsische Sprach geht fein leise vnd leicht abe.

II. MÜNSTER AND GESNER.

In August, 1536, eleven years after the first English refugees had come to northern Germany, two English Protestants reached Zürich,¹ and within the next ten years we find a small group of these at Basel and Zürich, in Alsace, and at Frankfurt. Although Sebastian Franck, of "Wörd," does not yet show any fresh knowledge of matters relating to England in his *Chronica*² (1531-36)—he merely copies Schedel³—it is at Basel, where Polydore Vergil's wonderful *History of England* had been published in 1534, with its remarks on the "languages" spoken in the British isles, that Sebastian Münster inserts in the different editions of his *Cosmography* a number of interesting remarks on the English language.⁴

In the edition of 1545⁵ the comments on the English language as a "mixed language" and on the "three languages"⁶ spoken in Great Britain are rather brief, but they reappear much enlarged—as does the whole account of England and Scotland—in the Latin edition of 1550 (March), and its German counterpart (Preface, dated 1550), which was published four years after Münster's death in 1556.

¹ Cf. VETTER, *Englische Flüchtlinge in Zürich*, etc. (1893), p. 3.

² Ed. 1536, fol. exxliib; cxeva; cxevliib; cea; cevib; *Die Drit Chronica*, 1543, fol. clvib.

³ The *Liber Chronicarum* of HARTMANN SCHEDEL. Nürnberg Koberger, 1493, contains passages referring to England, fol. 46, 138, 149b, 172, 197a, 202, 238. But the most interesting references are those taken over from ENEA SILVIO, *In Europam* (ed. princ., 1485; written after 1486), dealing with Henry VI, Adam de Molynes ("amicus noster"), Jacobus quadratus ("the Royal Poet"), the tree with the duck-eggs, the wonderful Scottish coal-stones ("pauperes pene nudos ad ecclesias mendicantes acceptis lapidibus elemosine gracia datis letos abijisse conspeximus"), fol. 239 ff. The languages of the island did not interest him.

⁴ Fol. liii (ed. 1569) he inserts an English word: "Zeltner . . . welche vonn Engelländern Hobner genant in Frankreich | Italien und Teutschlanden den gnad. frauen verschenckt werden."

⁵ *Cosmographia* (1545), p. xli: "Die Englische sprach ist ein gemischte sprach | von vilen sprachen | besunder von Teutsch vnd Frantzösisch zusammengetragen;" and p. xlv the chapter "Von Sitten vnd gebreuchen der Engellender vnd Schottlender" begins with a reference to the languages of the island: "IN Engelland sind drey sprachen. Eine ist die gemein vnd fürnemste sprach | deren sich die Engellender vnd auch die höfflichen Schottlender gebrauchen. Die ander ist Hibernisch | vnd die braucht das gemeyn betrüsch volck in Schottland. Die dritt ist in Wallia | vnd die ist Brittannisch."

⁶ Polyd. Verg. has four languages (transl. published by Camd. Soc., p. 1).

What makes the expansion in the editions of 1550 (and 1556) so particularly interesting is the fact that it contains an insertion of the Old English names of the months, which, Münster tells us, he had not found in the *printed* copies of Bede—he doubtless means especially the Basel edition (*De temporum ratione*) of 1529.¹ These Old English names he inserts from a MS which had been sent to him from Freiburg by Henricus Glareanus,² the famous humanist and friend of Erasmus and Henry VIII, the enemy of the Reformation, the editor of classical texts, the author of an interesting *Handbook of Geography* (1527), and an authority on music.

The *Cosmographie* of 1556 expands the brief note of the edition of 1545 to the following account:

[fol. lv] Die Engelische sprach ist ein gemischte sprach | von vilen sprachen | besunder von Teütsch vnd Frantzösisch zusammen getragen. Aber vorzeiten ist jr sprach gar Teütsch gewesen | wie ich das spüren mag auss Beda | der ein geborner Engellender gewesen ist | der schreibt in eim büchlein des tittel ist | von der zeit also. Die alten Englischen völker, haben ire [fol. lvi] monat gerechnet nach lauff des mons | vnd nennen auch den mon mona vnd den monet monath. Den Christmonat heissen sie hagel [!] monath (verstand heilig monath), den Aprillen Eoster monat (verstand Oster monath) vnd das von einer göttin der die Teütschen in der heydenschaft im Aprillen opfferten | die Eostre hiess. Den Meyen nenten sie Trimelci | dann sie melckten dreymal im tag dz viech im Meyen. Lass dich nit irren, das du im getruckten exemplar diss nit findest | dann ich hab es in eim alten getruckten [!] Beda gefunden.

The Latin edition of 1550 (which was copied by Gesner 1555—see below) corrects and expands the last sentence:

Hic locus in impressis codicibus non facile inuenitur, ego uero inueni in libro manuscripto quem Glareanus ex nigro sylua anno 1545 huc Basileam misit. Alia lingua in hac insula est Scotorum syluestrium atque insulanorum, et haec est Hibernica. Scoti uero mansuetiores utuntur lingua Anglicana. Tertia lingua est Vuallica.³

Münster's account was transferred to the first work which in western Europe claimed the study of the relation of languages as

¹ Of this edition (compiled by Joh. Siehardus) Henry VIII had a copy, now Brit. Mus. C. 19. g. 11 (1).

² 1488-1563; cf. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*; he was living at Freiburg 1529-63.

³ This last remark also in the German ed.; see above.

a scientific subject, Gesner's *Mithridates*. This interesting little volume was published in 1555 and dedicated to Bale, who during the years of his first exile, from 1540 to 1548, had formed an intimate friendship with the greatest "polyhistor" of his time, and who had not only supplied him with the Paternoster in Welsh,¹ but who had also doubtless given him the materials for what was to be the first clear account of the constituent elements of the vocabulary of the English language printed in Germany. Gesner speaks of the recent influx of French words into the English vocabulary, due to French merchants² and French immigrants; he mentions the fact that the great majority of English words is of Germanic origin, and makes the statement that the works written two or three hundred years ago—this would be the English literature of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—are almost entirely "Saxon;" he also makes the remark, which we can almost prove to be Bale's property, that the northern English is nearer to the German than the English of the southern parts of the country.³

III. THE EARLIEST PRINTED WORDS OF OLD ENGLISH.

Besides these new materials supplied by Bale, Gesner's account contains, as was stated above, the old English names of the months from Münster. This quotation would represent the second appearance of O. E. words in print, if the whole chapter of Bede had not after all, and in spite of Münster's statement to the contrary, seen the light before, viz., in the Cologne edition of the *De temporum ratione*, published in 1537. This edition⁴ contains the O. E. names twice. On fol. 41a, in an appendix to

¹ In the epistle dedicatory to Bale, he says "quo polyglottum hunc Mithridatem nostrum ornarem ueteris Britanniae linguae specimen, quod orationem Dominicam interpretatur, nobis a te missum."

² This is similar to Al. Gill's statement that "Wynkyn de Worde," coming from Germany, spoiled the English orthography, trying "illis quos habuit typis nostras voces excedere."

³ BALE, *Examinacyon of Mr. William Thorpe* (1544), p. 63: "This I have corrected and put forth in the English that now is used in England for our southern men. . . . And I intend hereafter . . . to put it forth in his own old English which shall well serve, I doubt not, both for the northern men and the faithful brethren of Scotland."

⁴ "Bedaе Presbyteri Anglo-Saxonis . . . opuscula complura de temporum ratione diligenter castigata . . . cum scholiis in obscuriores aliquot locos, auctore Johanne Nouiomago. Coloniae . . . Joh. Prael Anno MDxxxvii Mense Majo Impensis Petri Quentel."—Brit. Mus. 690. g. 5.

chap. xi, its editor, Johannes Nouiomagus, gives in a "tabula quam ex bonis autoribus sedulo collegimus," the names of the months of the Romans, the Egyptians, the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the British ("Britannorum"): (1) *Giuli*, (2) *Solmonath*, (3) *Rhod monath*, (4) *Costur* [*!*] *monath*, (5) *Trimilchi*, (6) *Lida*, (7) *Lida*, (8) *Vued monath*, (9) *Algemonath*, (10) *Vuintyrfyltich*, (11) *Blothmonoth* [*!*], (12) *Giuli*. This list is followed by "Barbaricorum Mensium Enumeratio" which includes—the German names!

On fol. 43b follows, for the first time in the printed editions, chap. xv ("De mensibus Britannorum") which repeats all the names just quoted, and contains a few more distortions of the O. E. words.¹ A note is added to the chapter which veils the editor's knowledge of the English language behind the following words:

Britanni ex proximis littoribus, id est, Gallicanis et Germanicis eam insulam occuparunt, quae antea Albion à Romanis dicta fuit ab albis montibus, qui adnauigantibus primum occurrunt: unde ex utroque idiomate lingua quidem nata est simillima Germanicae seu Batauicae linguae, quam gentem priori loco isthic fuisse constat, de lingua cuius etiam nunc fere sic utuntur satis constat ex Beda.

This Cologne edition of Bede's *De temporum ratione* is entitled to the honor—humble enough as it is—of containing the first words of O. E. printed, and printed in Germany.² The first O. E. words printed in England are, as far as I know, the O. E. place-names, and the remark on the *thorn*-letter³ contained in the "Commentary" which John Leland wrote for his *Cygnaea Cantio*, or rather the Commentary for which he wrote his *Cygnaea Cantio* in 1542.

¹ "Costurmonath Paschalis a dea illorum quae Cosdre vocabatur. Vuendenmonath. Halegmonath."

² I do not count here the O. E. names in BEDE's *Ecclesiastical History*, of which the *editio princeps* appeared at Strassburg 1473, nor do I know how this edition and the editions published at Milan 1473, Strassburg 1483, 1500, 1506, 1514, Speier 1493, Paris 1490, treat such names as Augustines ac, etc.

³ S. v. "Deiri:" (E 4) "Θίρ Græcum est, fera Latinum, unde Saxones damas & ceruos Deire patrio appellabant uocabulo, hac tamen scribendi lege, ut Θ Græcum in D uerterent, transfixa prima literae parte uirgula, quam & Thorn sua nominabant lingua, quod uirgula spinulae exhiberet speciem." Leland's extracts from O. E. MSS (e. g., BEDE's "Death-Hymn") O. E. glosses, as well as Robert Talbot's transcripts remained in MS until the eighteenth century.

IV. APPENDIX.

The passages referring to the English language in Gesner's MITHRIDATES. || DE DIFFE || RENTIIS LINGVA || RVM TVM VETERVM || tum quae hodie apud diuersas natio || nes in toto orbe terrarū in usu sunt, || CONRADI GESNERI || Tigurini Obser || uationes. || ANNO || M. D. L. V. || TIGVRI EXCVDEBAT || FROSCHOVERVS:

[3a] Anglica [*sc. lingua*] omnium maxime mixta hodie corruptaque uidetur. Primum enim uetus Britannica lingua imperio Saxonum partim abolita, partim corrupta est: deinde Gallica etiam uocabula plurima assumpsit, siue propter multitudinem mercatorum ex Gallia uicina, uel aliorum hominum ex eadem profectorum, ut inhabitarent.

[8b]

DE ANGLICA LINGVA.¹

Oratio Dominica Anglice conscripta. OVR father whiche arte in heauen, halowed be thy name. Thy Kyngdome come. Thy wyll be done² in earthe as it is in heauen. Geue us thys day our dagly³ bread. And forgeue us our trespasses,⁴ as we⁵ forgeue our trespassers.⁶ And leade us not in to tentacion. But delyuer us from euyll.⁷ Amen.

Sunt autem uocabula Germanica uel Saxonica omnia, sed aliquo modo detorta, uel immutata prae substantiuum uerbum *arte & be:* & *but*, id est, sed conjunctionem: et nomen *heauen*, id est, coeli, et Gallica uocabula *trespasses & delyuer*.⁸

Audio ante annos aliquot, & patrum memoria multo pauciora Gallica & Latina uocabula in hac lingua fuisse, quae nunc eis abundant: nam & in colloquijs ea multi affectant, & in scriptis praecipue intermiscent ueluti flosculos ac pigmenta, ita ut uulgus nisi adhibita interpretatione non intelligat. Maxima tamen pars adhuc Saxonica est. Libri quidem ante ducentos aut trecentos annos in Anglia scripti, toti fere Saxonica lin[9a]gua constant. Quaedam etiam propria habent ex ueteri forte Britanica lingua.

Scotica parum ab Anglica differt, sed pauciora Gallica uocabula habet: utpote ad Septentrionem remotior. Nam & ipsi Angli Septentrionales magis quam Australes, ad Germanicam linguam accedunt.

Anglica lingua⁹ (inquit Seb. Munsterus), mixta est ex multis linguis, praesertim Germanica & Gallica. Olim uero mere fuit Germanica, id

¹ In ed. 1610 the two main parts of this chapter change places.

² Ed. 1610 inserts: *euen*.

³ *sic*; ed. 1610: *daggly*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, "forgiue . . . dettes."

⁵ *Ibid.*, "we also."

⁶ *Ibid.*, "forgiue . . . detters."

⁷ *Ibid.*, inserted: "For thine is the Kingdome, and the power, and the glory foreuer."

⁸ *Ibid.*, uocabula *dettes* ac *detters*.

⁹ *Ibid.*, "Anglorum lingua."

quod animaduertere licet ex Beda, qui ex Anglia oriundus fuit. Is enim in libro *De temporibus* sic scribit: Veteres Anglicani populi numerauerunt menses suos secundum cursum Lunae, appellantque Lunam *monam* & mensem *monath*: Decembrem uocant *Halegmonath*¹ (id est sacrum mensem): & Aprilem *Eoster monath*² (id est, paschalem mensem); idque a dea quadam cui Teutonici populi in paganismo sacrificia fecerunt tempore mensis Aprilis, quae *Eostre* est appellata. Majum appellauerunt *Thrimelci* (id est tres multrae) quod eo mense pecora ter die mulgerent. Hic locus in impressis codicibus non facile inuenitur: ego uero inueni in libro manuscripto quem Glareanus ex Nigra sylva anno 1545, huc Basileam misit, Haec Munsterus.

Sunt autem uocabula illa, quae Beda Anglica facit, Germanica omnia. Angli hodie nonnihil variant, nam Lunam uocant *mone*: mensem, *moneth*: pascha, *easter*: multram uas [9b] *mylkyng payle*: ipsum lac mulctum, *meale*.³

[67a]

DE SCOTICA LINGVA.⁴

Scoticam linguam communiorem audio parum differe ab Anglica, sed pauciora Gallica habere admixta.

Scoti (syluestres et insulani) hodie moribus non differunt ab Hibernis (inquit Munsterus) a quibus originem duxerunt, nec magnum est inter ipsos intervallum. Nam cum coelum est serenum potest Hibernia uideri in Scotia. Est praeterea indiscreta lingua eorum, indiscreti mores et uestitus. Qui meliorem terrae incolunt partem, nempe meridionalem, hi bene morati sunt, & ut humaniores lingua utantur Anglica.

Gesner repeats in part these remarks in his preface to Iosua Maaler's *Die Teütsch spraach* (*Dictionarium Germanico latinum Novvm*, 1561):

[4b] Angliae Scotiaeque regna in insula illa amplissima (quam ueteres uno Albionis aut Britanniae nomine appellabant) Saxonico sermone utuntur, sed iam *corrupto*, qui ante pauca secula multo purior fuit, cum Anglij uel Anglosaxones, expulsis prioribus incolis, eam occupassent. Hodie quidem plurimas e Gallica lingua uoces mixtas habent.

¹ Ed. 1610: "Halegmonath."

² *Ibid.*, "Eoster vel Esturmonath."

³ Is this a printer's mistake, or an attempt at phonetic writing?

⁴ Bale may have contributed the substance of this note from JOH. MAIOR's *History*, first published at Paris, 1521; he inserts from it in the second part of the *Catalogus* (1559), fol. 199: "in regno Scotorum duae linguae sunt, quarum una aliam non intelligit. Syluestres enim et insulani Scoti, Hybernica, sed fracta utuntur loquela: alij uero, quos domesticos uocant, linguam habent cum Anglis communem. Atque ut lingua sunt diuersi, ita et moribus sunt contrarij; etc."

But he adds an interesting plea for a better knowledge of English for the Germanic philologist. After enumerating Latin, Greek, and Hebrew as indispensable for the etymologist he continues:

Anglica lingua hodie, ut dixi è Saxonica & Gallica uulgari fere constat, quam qui teneret, plurimas Saxonicae & Germanicae ueteris linguae dictiones perciperet: unde ad explicandas origines, significationes & orthographiam, plurimum momenti accederet.

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SOME FEATURES OF THE SUPERNATURAL AS REPRESENTED IN PLAYS OF THE REIGNS OF ELIZABETH AND JAMES.

IN the following paper it is my purpose to set forth three series of Elizabethan plays, the content of which involves a more or less frank acceptance and presentation on the stage of the supernatural agencies known as devils, fairies, and witches. In this place I am less concerned with the sources of this folk-lore, whether popular or literary, than with the nature of its manifestation in these plays, and their relations, one to the others. The angels and devils of the old sacred drama are anterior, the ghosts and furies of Senecan tragedy for the most part extraneous, to the action. The part which the disembodied spirit, returning to the haunts of men, was destined to play in later tragedy deserves a careful and serious consideration for its frequent manifestation of art as well as for its interesting psychology. This theme in its growth and change of treatment marks the distance traversed from the ghost of Andrea, attended by Revenge, in a supererogatory prologue, to "the majesty of buried Denmark" stalking across the platform at Elsinore, the miraculous and blood-curdling echo in *The Duchess of Malfi*, or the dagger proffered to Macbeth, that shadowy figment of a wicked and over-wrought imagination.¹ With none of these interesting matters shall I at present deal. The sorcerers and wizards, too, such as Sacrapant the conjurer, son of the witch Meroë, who summons furies amid thunder and lightning to do his bidding; or Bryan Sansfoy, the guardian of a flying serpent in the Forest of Marvels, a coward and enchanter, holding knights and damsels in thrall, like Spenser's Archimago—of such as these I shall not treat.² For these magicians of old romance are little more than stock figures, and while they certainly affected later conceptions of the kind, really belong to mediæval times and

¹ See *The Spanish Tragedy*, Prologue; *Hamlet*, I, i; *The Duchess of Malfi*, V, i; *Macbeth*, II, i.

² *The Old Wives' Tale*, BULLEN'S *Peele*, Vol. I, p. 321; *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 126; *The Fairy Queen*, Book I.

to Europe at large, and are negligible in a consideration of English creatures of the supernatural as conceived in the reigns of Elizabeth and James. It may be remarked that the greatest of the magicians of this old mediæval type is of course Merlin, who figures so extensively in that curious mixture of legendary story, romantic drama, and gross *diablerie*, *The Birth of Merlin*.¹ In it, besides much else, are depicted the miraculous birth and the strange prophecies of that remarkable wizard; his raising and laying of spirits and demons, among them his father, the devil; the appearance of the worthies Hector and Achilles, conjured hence by magic, as are Goddess Lucina, the Fates, and even the abstraction Death.

The Elizabethan attitude towards the world that lies beyond, push forward the barriers of human knowledge as we may, was very different from our own. Before what Arthur Hugh Clough wittily called "the Supreme Bifurcation," the Elizabethan never paused in modern puzzled, agnostic doubt, but confidently chose his horn of the dilemma and cheerfully suffered his tossing or goring as the case might be. Astrologers, alchemists, and wise-women flourished and grew rich on the ignorance and credulity of their dupes; tellers of fortunes, mixers of philters, finders of hidden treasure and lost articles by divination prospered alike. Many, like Owen Glendower, could "call spirits from the vasty deep," and "command the devil;" and few there were, like Hotspur, to question, "Will they come when you do call for them?"² Nor were these superstitions confined to the ignorant and the vulgar. The Earl of Leicester consulted the celebrated astrologer Doctor Dee as to the auspicious day on which to hold the coronation of Queen Elizabeth.³ Excellent Reginald Scot, although he humanely wrote a very long book to display the shallowness of the evidence on which witches were convicted, did not venture to deny the existence of witchcraft.⁴ Even Lord Bacon, who incredulously doubted the Copernican system of astronomy, shared with his royal master King James a belief in many of

¹ First printed in 1662 as "written by William Shakespeare and William Rowley," and not impossibly the *Uther Pendragon* of 1597.

² *1 Henry IV*, III, i.

³ *Dictionary of National Biography*, article "Dee," Vol. XIV, p. 271.

⁴ *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), ed. 1886, pp. 407 ff.

the popular superstitions of his day.¹ In an environment such as this the supernatural as a dramatic motive may be assumed to have had a sanction and a potency well nigh inconceivable today.

The supernatural first entered the English drama as an artistic motive with the advent of *Faustus*. Of the origins of this world-story, of Marlowe's immediate source and the probable date of the earliest performance of his well known play there is no need here to speak. "Of all that [Marlowe] hath written for the stage," wrote Edward Philips, "his Doctor Faustus hath made the greatest noise."² And its many editions and alterations for revival point to its having been one of the most popular dramas of its day. As we have it *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* is little more than a succession of scenes void of continuity or cohesion except for the unity of the main figure and the unrelenting progress of the whole towards the overwhelming catastrophe. Moreover this fragment—for the play is little more—is disfigured and disgraced by the interpolation of scenes of clownage and ribaldry which, in view of the strictures enunciated in the famous prologue of *Tamburlaine* as to "such conceits as clownage keeps in pay," and the apology of the printer in the Preface of that play, it is impossible to believe that Marlowe wrote. And yet, broken torso that it is, there is a grandeur beyond mere description in this conception of the lonely, grace-abandoned scholar, in whom the promptings of remorse alone betray the touch of human weakness, whose inordinate desire for power and knowledge, rather than mere gratification of appetite, have impelled to the signing of his terrible compact with the Evil One, and whose mortal agonies have in them a dignity which not even the mediæval conception of hoofed and horned deviltry could destroy. Perilous is the practice of the art of comparison, and yet, when all has been said, there remains an impassioned reserve, a sense of mastery and a poignancy of feeling about this battered fragment of the old Elizabethan age that I find not in the grotesque Teutonic *diablerie*, the symbolical æsthetics, even in the consummate art, wisdom, and philosophy of Goethe's *Faust*.

¹ See *Sylva Sylvarum*, *passim*.

² *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675), ed. 1800, p. 113. *Faustus* was almost certainly on the stage in 1588.

The story of Faustus, with its conjuring of demons, its infernal compact, the alternate promptings of the good and bad angel, and its appalling catastrophe, is a mediæval story of black art. There seems little reason to doubt that the "white magic" of the English Friar Bacon was worked into his romantic drama, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, by Robert Greene in direct emulation of the foreign black magic of Marlowe's *Faustus*.¹ The romantic part of Greene's engaging play tells of the love of Prince Edward for the Fair Maid of Fressingfield, a keeper's daughter, with the fair maid's anticipation of the rôle of Priscilla in *The Courtship of Miles Standish* in favor of her lover Lacey, Earl of Lincoln. But with this is united a tale of the magical doings of Friar Bacon—how he created by his art a brazen head that spoke and would have walled all England with brass but for the stupidity of a servant, how he could show the acts of people afar off in his "prospective stone" of crystal, and obliterate both time and space—for such was the myth which had grown out of the life and reputed studies of that remarkable man, Roger Bacon.

The story of Faustus revolves about the daring compact with the father of evil and its terrible fruit; the characters, save for the writhing and tortured protagonist and the supernatural ministers to his ambition and his fate, seem thin and unreal, as the daylight seems unreal after a night of fever and anguish. Friar Bacon, on the contrary, is a goodnatured and patriotic wizard, solicitous for the happiness and the good of others, alive in fresh and merry England; and although the shadow of his intercourse with hell hangs over him, a misadventure, for which his art is only indirectly responsible, brings him to repentance and the renouncement of his traffic with evil. A novel feature of the story (in the original tale as in the play) is the necromantic contest in which Friar Bacon worsts Vandermast, a rival magician, and has him transported to his native Germany on the back of a simulacrum of Hercules.² It was this feature of the contest that Anthony Munday imitated in his *John a Kent and John a Cumber*,

¹ On this topic see A. W. WARD, Introduction to his edition of these two plays (1892), p. i. *Friar Bacon* was first acted in 1589, and must have followed hard upon *Faustus*.

² *Friar Bacon*, Scene ix.

1594,¹ a diverting comedy of situation in which the two wizards who give title to the play are pitted against each other in an elaborate exhibition of their supernatural powers, in process of which disguises, exchanges of person, "errors," and "antiques" figure in bewildering confusion. Munday's play is doubtless original, although his heroine, Sedanen, was known to the popular ballads of the day, and John a Kent appears to have been an actual person living near Hereford at some remote and indeterminate period, and enjoying the reputation of having sold himself to the devil, like Faustus.

The infernal compact appears once more in the pleasing anonymous comedy of *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, 1606; but Peter Fabel, the English Faustus, after exercising his art on the devil to cheat him into a seven years' prolongation of his time on earth,² like Bacon and John a Kent, employs his powers to unite faithful lovers, and the supernatural ceases to be an element in the story. A remarkable application of the infernal compact to an historical subject is *The Devil's Charter, or a Tragedy Containing the Life and Death of Pope Alexander VI*, acted by the king's company in 1606, and the work of Barnaby Barnes, the lyricist, who is not otherwise known to the history of the drama.³ Alexander's wicked and abandoned life and the marvelous success of his worldly career, crowned with the papacy, gave rise almost immediately upon his death to stories in which he was transmuted in the popular imagination into a species of pontifical Faustus. Nor did the Protestant zeal of succeeding times neglect an example at once so flagrant and so apt. Barnes's tragedy is full of horror and novel situation, and owes not a little to the study of Marlowe's *Faustus*. A fine and original climax is produced when the wicked Pope, about to die, drags himself from his couch that he may sit once more in the seat of St. Peter and feel the triple tiara on his brow. With faltering steps and eager, trembling hands, he approaches the curtain which veils the papal chair. He draws it and starts back, for there, arrayed in all the regalia of priestly pomp, crowned

¹ *Publications of the Shakespeare Society* (1851). It is not impossible that a lost play called *Scogan and Skelton*, by HATHWAY AND RANKINS, 1601, represented a similar necromantic contest.—*Henslowe's Diary*, p. 175.

² See the opening scene.

³ This interesting play has not been reprinted.

and occupying St. Peter's throne, sits Satan himself. Had the younger author known when to stay his hand, and had he been somewhat more of a practical playwright, this tragedy might not have been an altogether unworthy successor of its illustrious prototype.

Closely allied to these dramas in which supernatural powers are derived by a magician from the pledging of his soul are the several plays which represent the devil in human guise and familiar intercourse with mortals, to their undoing, or satirically to the worsting of the devil. Henslowe records a production, the work of Day and Haughton, entitled *Friar Rush and the Proud Woman of Amsterdam*.¹ Friar Rush is well known in continental folklore as the devil disguised as a cook who corrupts a whole monastery with delicious fare. As a prose tale Friar Rush had already appeared in England as early as 1568. And although no known version contains allusion to the woman of Amsterdam, several of the friar's well known exploits may well have been transferred to the Flemish capital.² It was not until 1610 that Dekker produced his extraordinary dramatic development of the story of Friar Rush, *If This Be Not a Good Play the Devil is in It*. This play represents the mission of three devils sent by the infernal council to earth, one of whom, Ruffman, practices on the virtuous court of Naples, a second, Lurchall, on a hitherto upright merchant, the third, Friar Rush, on a monastery renowned for the austerity of its rule. The demons succeed in bringing all save a steadfast sub-prior to the verge of ruin; and the play ends with a realistic representation of the tortures of the villainous merchant Barterville, in company with such sensational contemporary malefactors as Ravallac and Guy Fawkes. Dekker's play was hastily written and is confused in places in its design, and grotesque alike for the vulgar excess of its *diablerie* and for its transference to modern times of a story incongruous when deprived of its fitting mediæval setting. And yet *If This Be Not a Good Play* can not but be regarded as a very remarkable effort for the boldness of its plan, the comprehensiveness of its scope, and the surprising anticipation

¹ Henslowe's Diary, p. 193.

² HERFORD, *Literary Relations of England and Germany* (1886), p. 308.

which it offers of Goethe's *Faust* in its "recasting of an old devil story in terms of modern society."¹

Dekker's play has no relation whatever to Macchiavelli's *jeu d'esprit* on the marriage of Belphegor, although a superficial resemblance was noted by Langbaine, and this suggestion has misled some later writers.² Macchiavelli's *novella* is, however, the direct source of the main plot of *Grim the Collier of Croydon*, the printed title of which is derived from the underplot in which an inferior demon disguised as Robin Goodfellow figures in a farcical rôle. The major plot details how a suicide, Spenser's Malbecco,³ pleading before the infernal judges that he was driven in desperation to his crime by the outrageous wickedness of his wife, is reprieved for a year and a day, while the devil, Belphegor, is dispatched to earth to observe if womankind is really so desperately depraved as reported.⁴ Belphegor plans to marry one woman, and is duped into marriage with another. Both men and women prove to be more than a match in ingenuity and wickedness for the unhappy devil; and in the end, buffeted and outwitted, poisoned by his wife, and waylaid by her paramour, he is only saved from the gallows on a false accusation of murder by the timely expiration of his term on earth. St. Dunstan appears in this play, as in one or two others, as from his wisdom and sanctity a controller of evil; but he never rises to the dignity of a magician.⁵

In the year of Shakespeare's death, 1616, and after the appearance of the first folio of Jonson's works, the latter poet produced a comedy of devil-lore, confessedly to rival Dekker's *If It Be Not a Good Play* and *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*. Moreover, while *The Devil Is an Ass* is conceived with a measure of that bold originality and mingling of minute realism with fanciful invention which is, in stronger degree elsewhere, Jonson's, *The Marriage of Belphegor* must certainly have suggested to the

¹ HERFORD, *Literary Relations of England and Germany* (1886), p. 317.

² *An Account of English Dramatic Poets* (1691), p. 122; HALLIWELL-PHILLIPS, *A Dictionary of Old Plays* (1870), p. 124.

³ *The Fairy Queen*, Book III, cantos 9 and 10.

⁴ DODSLEY, *Old Plays*, ed. 1874, Vol. VIII, pp. 393 ff.

⁵ See especially *A Knack to Know a Knave*, *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 503.

English dramatist his general design. Pug, the lesser devil, out of a childlike curiosity and ambition to extend the dominion of hell, seeks the world for one day in the face of dissuasive advice of the more experienced great devil, Satan. In the body of a lately hanged cutpurse and in clothes stolen from a servant Pug seeks employment of a rich old fool and makes a few abortive advances to intimacy with mankind. But he is repulsed, beaten, and cheated at every turn, and in the end escapes being whipped to Tyburn at the tail of a cart for the theft of the suit of clothes he wears only by reason of the expiration of his day on earth. It is a far cry from the dignity and overpowering terror of the conception of Faustus to pitiful Pug on his knees to his master, who will not believe him to be a real devil, although honestly assured of the fact; or sighing in Newgate for midnight to set him free from his chains and restore to him "his holidays in hell."¹

Turning back to the latter days of Queen Elizabeth, in Dekker's loosely constructed but poetical comedy of *Old Fortunatus*, printed in 1600, we find a tale of folk-lore very different in its original intent from *Faustus*, and yet strongly affected by that tragedy. There is reason to believe that Dekker's play as we have it is the result of the revision of a comedy dealing with Fortunatus and his inexhaustible purse, well known to the stage as early as February, 1596. Whether this "first part" was Dekker's or another's, that dramatist revised the whole work, probably adding the adventures of the sons of Fortunatus in November, 1599; and, the play being unexpectedly ordered for court, further added the poetical masque-like scenes which depict the strife of Vice and Virtue, later in the same year.² In Dekker's hands the old fairy tale of the gift of Fortune and the wishing-cap, which carries its wearer whither he will, is transmuted from its original frank worldliness into a theme of moral gravity by the allegorical contention of Virtue and Vice and by the emphasis which is laid on the folly of Fortunatus in his choice of wealth, with the discord and doom which its inheritance entails

¹ Jonson, ed. CUNNINGHAM (1875), Vol. V, pp. 132, 135.

² Henslowe's *Diary*, pp. 64, 159, 161.

on his sons. Could Dekker have written always as he wrote in the best scenes of this beautiful play, he could well challenge a place beside the greatest poets of his age.

"There were no real fairies before Shakespeare's," says Dr. Furness. "What were called 'fairies' have existed ever since stories were told to wide-eyed listeners round a winter's fire. But these are not the fairies of Shakespeare, nor the fairies of to-day. They are the fairies of Grimm's Mythology. Our fairies are spirits of another sort, but unless they wear Shakespeare's livery they are counterfeit."¹ The absolute truth of this statement must appear to anyone who will be at the pains to turn to the innumerable "sources" of Shakespeare's fairy-lore which the indefatigable industry of commentators has unearthed and suggested.² Oberon, the *deus ex machina* of the old romance of *Huon of Bordeaux*, although he possesses some of the features of Shakespeare's fairy king, is a dwarf and a mortal;³ his namesake in Greene's drama on King James IV is little more than the presenter of a series of dumb shows and the coryphæus of a "round" of fairies, who dance jigs and hornpipes wholly extraneous to the action of the play.⁴ And a perusal of *The Fairy Queen* which had stopped well short of the third book could alone have misled anyone into the supposition that the Elfe and Fay, "of whom all faeryes spring and fetch their lignage," have anything in common with Cobweb, Moth, and Mustardseed.⁴ Shakespeare refined the elves and goblins of folk-lore to a diminutiveness and daintiness beyond the reach of the gross imaginations of the countryside, as he transmuted the fays of the bookish lands of "faerie" into a charming and fanciful reality. Robin Goodfellow and Queen Mab meet without incongruity, and Puck and the gossamer-winged attendants on Bottom shade imperceptibly into the airy tenants of the exuberant fancy of Mercutio and the haunting music and invisible spells of the *Tempest*.

¹ *Variorum Shakespeare*, Vol. X, p. xxiv.

² See *Huon of Bordeaux*, ed. Early English Text Society (1882), pp. 60, 267.

³ *The Scottish History of King James IV*, GROSART'S *Greene*, Vol. XIII, pp. 205 ff.

⁴ *Fairy Queen*, Book II, canto 10, ll. 631 ff.

A Midsummer Night's Dream produced a profound impression on the poetic imagination of its day, and thenceforth (to say nothing of non-dramatic productions such as Drayton's *Nymphidia* and the fairy-lore of the pastoralists) scenes introducing elves and fairies enter not infrequently into the popular plays as well as into the performances at court. Thus in the confused romantic comedy of intrigue, *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodipol*, which must have been written very soon after Shakespeare's play, fairies usher in a banquet and an enchanter exercises spells on wood-wandering lovers not dissimilar to those of Puck. In *The Maid's Metamorphosis*, printed in 1600, the fairy element also obtrudes in several very pretty songs,¹ although the play is of a pastoral and mythological cast in the manner of Lyly and was formerly inaccurately ascribed to him. Even into the midst of so melodramatic a performance as the quasi-historical tragedy *Lus's Dominion* Oberon and his fairy rout are lugged to warn a character of her impending death.² Shakespeare employed mock fairies in the delightful masquerade which brings about at once the punishment of Falstaff and the *dénouement* of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*;³ while later far, in 1610, the dainty fairy-lore of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* expands into the imaginative world of the supernatural which girdles the enchanted island of Prospero, a world wherein the romantic and the grotesque, ethereal spirit and mortality in its nobility and in its sensual grossness unite in a perfect harmony with which only Shakespeare could have infused such discordant materials.⁴

But Shakespeare's poetic and fanciful transfiguration of popular fairy-lore was not the only literary and dramatic treatment of the fairies of his age. The diligent researches into primitive and bookish mythology so confidently applied to Shakespeare's free creations of the supernatural world are far more significant and fruitful when applied to the fairies of Ben Jonson; and here, as elsewhere, that learned man and poet of a wholly admirable talent stands in striking contrast to the brilliant, imaginative, and all-

¹ BULLEN, *Old English Plays* (1884), Vol. III, p. 135; and *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 127.

² This play may have been written as early as 1600; the passage alluded to is Act III, scene 2.

³ V, v, 41 ff.

⁴ See *Tempest*.

conquering genius of him who alone of all Jonson's contemporaries could equal and surpass him. Jonson's contributions to fairy-lore in dramatic form are included in *The Satyr*, "a particular entertainment of the Queen and Prince at Althorpe . . . 1603, as they came first into the Kingdom;" *Oberon, the Fairy Prince*, a Masque of Prince Henry's, 1610; and the character of Puck in *The Sad Shepherd*.¹ Jonson's fairies, like the Irish "other people," do not seem to have been conspicuously distinguishable for their small size;² and, as might be expected from their employment in masques, like those of Greene, are notable for their dancing, and to this they add a very pretty quality in song.³ Jonson's Puck is no "merry wanderer of the night," but is sur-named "Hairy" and debased to attendar . . . or the Witch of Pap-lewick; whilst to Queen Mab, in vast discrepancy to the delicate and pampered royalty of Titania, are ascribed the tricky pranks of will-o'-the-wisp, moon-calf, and household elf. It was reserved in much later times to Jonson's witty, reckless, and godless "son," Thomas Randolph, to laugh the fairies off the stage. In his fine pastoral drama *Amyntas*, published in 1638, Randolph employs a mock fairy *motif* to enhance the lighter comedy scenes of his play. In the course of it Jocastus, a fantastic shepherd and "fairy knight," and Mopsus, a foolish augur, carry on much satirical discourse concerning fairies and fairy-lore; and in the end contrive to rob an orchard by means of a "bevy of fairies" who for some reason best known to their author sing, though prettily, only in Latin. Told to "go love some fairy lady," Mopsus replies:

How, Jocastus,
Marry a puppet? wed a mote i' th' sun?
Go look a wife in nutshells? Woo a gnat,
That's nothing but a voice? No, no, Jocastus,
I must have flesh and blood,
A fig for fairies!⁴

The fairies dwell in pleasant regions of fancy and their drama is comedy. Witchcraft in its grotesqueness, its horror, and its

¹ Various dated between 1618 and the thirties.

² The "lesser faies" of *Oberon* were represented by noble children; the greater hence, presumably, by adults.

³ See especially the songs in *Oberon*.

⁴ *Amyntas, or the Impossible Dowry*, *Works of Randolph* (1875), Vol. I, p. 278; and see also pp. 279-84, 346, 355-31, 364.

pathos occupies, as has well been said, "a field debateable, in a way unparalleled between tragedy and comedy."¹ In a sermon preached before the queen in 1572, John Jewell, wise and pious bishop that he was, declared:

Witches and sorcerers, within these last few yeeres, are marvellously increased within this your Grace's realme. These eies have seene most evident and manefest marks of their wickedness. . . . Wherefore, your poore subjects most humble petition unto your Highnesse, is that the laws touching such malefactors, may be put in due execution.²

This may be taken as a measure of the popular belief in witchcraft, which among the political and religious difficulties that beset the reigns of the later Tudors, from a harmless white magic, useful for the discovery of things lost, for the mixture of love philters, or for effecting simple cures, came to be regarded as a dreadful and alarming evil, spreading like the plague and blasting with death in this world and with damnation in the world to come the unhappy creatures who fell under suspicion of traffic in it. To the Elizabethan playgoer the apparition of Mephistophilis to Faustus or the conjurings of the wizard, Bolingbroke, and Margery Jourdain,³ dealers in the supernatural in *2 Henry VI*, seemed the natural representation of things universally known to be true; and the extraordinary reversal of the military successes of Henry V and of Talbot by the French, a foe habitually despised and beaten, could be accounted for in no other wise than by the acceptance of the English tradition that Joan of Arc had been justly tried and burnt for a witch.⁴

The plays of the age of Elizabeth are full of allusion to these popular superstitions, from the allegorical representation of the practices against Elizabeth's life in a work of Dekker,⁵ to the farcical situation of Falstaff, disguised as the Wise Woman of Brentford.⁶ But it was not until King James ascended the throne and gave to the popular belief in witchcraft the sanction of the royal opinion, that the witch, as such, enters as a motive into the fabric of English plays. Heywood, Shakespeare, Dekker, Middleton, and Ford, all deal with witchcraft; imaginatively, realistically,

¹ A. W. WARD, *History of Dramatic Literature* (1899), Vol. II, p. 367.

² Quoted in SCOT, *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, Introduction, p. xxxii.

³ II, iv. ⁴ *1 Henry VI*, V, iii. ⁵ *The Whore of Babylon* (1604). ⁶ *Merry Wives*, IV, ii.

jocularly, pathetically, in only one case—Heywood's *Wise Woman of Hogsdon*—in the least skeptically.¹ Jonson, who repudiated and satirized the followers of alchemy and astrology, hesitated to attack the more terrible superstitions of witchcraft, but represents his witches in *The Masque of Queens*, 1609, with a circumstantial attention to every coarse and unseemly detail and a display of erudition, classic and modern, which must have delighted the grossness and pedantry alike of the royal author of a treatise on demonology.

The witches of *Macbeth* preceded as they surpassed all other representation of their kind on the stage: for the little that went before Lyly's *Mother Bombe*² and the examples already cited, were neither vital nor closely interwoven in the tissues of the play. But despite the fidelity with which Shakespeare followed his source, as was his wont, and notwithstanding a certain incongruity which the supererogatory queen of witches Hecate brings into the imaginative conception of the three Weird Sisters, the witches of *Macbeth* rise so far above the wretched hags and obscene *succubae* of popular demonology, so ally themselves on the one hand with the cosmic forces of nature and so vividly represent the visible symbolical form of subjective human depravity on the other, that they, no more than Shakespeare's fairies, can be accepted as really illustrative of the popular belief of the time.

For the popular dramatic exposition of witchcraft we must then turn to other authors. Jonson's Witch of Papplewick is possessed of most of the malignant and repulsive features of her kind. She assumes the shape of a raven and again of innocent Maid Marian, to foment mischief. She is hunted at full cry by a band of huntsmen who mistake her for a hare, and is about to be represented "with her spells, threds and images," when Jonson's fragment abruptly comes to an end.³ Even more repulsively realistic are the hags who enact the antimasque of *The Masque of*

¹ The *Wise Woman of Hogsdon* is little more than a female quack doctor. See an interesting passage on the "wise women" of the time, II, i. *Heywood's Dramatic Works* (1874), Vol. V, p. 292.

² First printed in 1594; *Macbeth* is usually dated about 1606.

³ *The Sad Shepherd*, III, ii; CUNNINGHAM, *Jonson*, Vol. VI, p. 283.

Queens already mentioned above. These witches are described as issuing "with a kind of hollow and infernal music" from "an ugly hell," "all differently attired, some with rats on their head, some on their shoulders; others with ointment-pots at their girdles; all with spindles, timbrels, rattles, or other venefical instruments, making a confused noise, with strange gestures." Amid charms and incantations admirable for their grotesque and gruesome horror and suggestiveness, the "Dame" or queen of witches enters, "naked-armed, bare-footed, her frock tucked, her hair knotted and folded with vipers; in her hands a torch made of a dead man's arm, lighted, girded with a snake;" and the roll is called, the witches responding to such names as Credulity, Impudence, Slander, Bitterness, Rage, and other abstractions.¹

In *The Witch*, by Thomas Middleton (of uncertain date, but assuredly written after *Macbeth*), that ready playwright grafted on a romantic tale of Belleforest a story of witchcraft derived through Scot's *Discoverie* from Nider's *Formicarius*,² a work written in Latin by a German. The original version of this latter story concerns the unholy doings of three wizards and their successive practices in their craft. Middleton, with a dramatist's instinct, changed their sex, united their adventures, and linked them with the witch-crone of antiquity by naming one of their number Hecate, besides giving to their incantations an influential part in determining the course of the play. The witch name Hecate thus occurs in both Shakespeare's and Middleton's play; and likenesses of phrase have been discovered in the witch scenes of the two dramas, radically different as the governing conceptions of these ministers of evil appear in the two productions. Moreover it has been thought that the extraneousness and contradictory nature of Shakespeare's Hecate as compared with her sister witches is to be explained by assuming an interpolation by Middleton or another hand in a play originally free from this and other like blemishes.³ Be all this as it may, the last word has been said on this comparison by Charles Lamb, in a passage which quotation can never stale:

¹ See *ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 108, 112.

² See HERFORD, *Literary Relations of England and Germany*, p. 233. Book V of the *Formicarius* treats "De Maleficis," etc.

³ On this whole subject, see FURNESS, *Variorum ed. of Macbeth*, p. 388.

[Shakespeare's] witches [he tells us] are distinguished from the witches of Middleton by essential differences. These are creatures to whom man or woman plotting some dire mischief might resort for occasional consultation. Those originate deeds of blood, and begin bad impulses to men. From the moment that their eyes first met with Macbeth's, he is spellbound. That meeting sways his destiny. He can never break the fascination. These witches can hurt the body: those have power over the soul. Hecate in Middleton has a son, a low buffoon: the hags of Shakespeare have neither child of their own, nor seem to be descended from any parent. They are foul anomalies, of whom we know not whence they are sprung, nor whether they have beginning or ending. As they are without human passions, so they seem to be without human relations. They come with thunder and lightning, and vanish to airy music. This is all we know of them. Except Hecate they have no names: which heightens their mysteriousness. Their names, and some of the properties which Middleton has given to his hags, excite smiles. The Weird Sisters are serious things. Their presence cannot co-exist with mirth. But, in a lesser degree, the Witches of Middleton are fine creations. They raise jars, jealousies, strifes, 'like a thick scurf o'er life.'¹

There remain two remarkable plays in which English witchcraft is sketched from life. Their treatment in this place neither their late date nor the realism which allies them with the domestic drama whose theme is every-day life could excuse, were it not for the presence in both of a certain element of the grotesqueness and wonder and the humane spirit that suggests, even if it does not portray the pathos of the situation of these unhappy traffickers in evil. *The Witch of Edmonton* was most likely first acted towards the end of the reign of King James, and is assigned on its title page to the "well esteemed poets, William Rowley, Thomas Dekker, John Ford, etc." The play is grounded on a prose account of one Elizabeth Sawyer of Islington, who was executed in 1621 for witchcraft; and belongs in its general theme to the interesting series of tragedies dealing with domestic unhappiness and consequent crime. Mother Sawyer, a wretched and poverty-stricken old woman, is driven to commerce with the supernatural in revenge for outrageous and wanton ill treatment on the part of her neighbors. A devil in shape of a black dog surprises her in one of her paroxysms of impotent cursing, exacts from her the usual pledge of her soul, and becomes her

¹ *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets* (ed. 1898), Vol. I, p. 271.

"familiar."¹ Her feud with the neighborhood continues until, deserted by her evil spirit, her hut is set afire and she is arraigned and convicted of her many acts of spite and mischief. Forbiddingly coarse as are many of the details of this story of vulgar witchcraft, the character of Mother Sawyer is conceived with a sympathy for the miserable old hag, with a touch of pathos and an apprehension of the moral responsibility of her persecutors which is surprising in view of the circumstance that neither her actual possession by her grotesque familiar spirit nor the supernatural quality of her traffic is called into question for a moment.

The Late Lancashire Witches was printed in 1634 as the work of Thomas Heywood and Richard Brome,² its source the notorious trials for witchcraft of 1633 in the county named. Indeed, to judge from the epilogue, the composition of this play must have followed so close on the events that its influence in forestalling the judgment of the courts which tried these unfortunate creatures can scarcely be considered negligible. Attention has been called to the repetition of a familiar *motif* of Heywood's in the main event of *The Lancashire Witches*. Like Mistress Franklin, the woman killed with kindness, like Wincott's wife in *The English Traveller*, Mistress Generous, the wife of an honorable man, is led astray, here not by an earthly lover, but by the powers of darkness to which she pledges her soul and becomes a witch. In the other two plays the erring wife is magnanimously, even tenderly, treated; here the enormity of the crime demanded another *dénouement*. *The Lancashire Witches* is a mine of current witch-lore, with its transformations of supposedly respectable housewives into midnight hags and thence into cats or supernatural jades that traverse miraculous distances, with its grotesque malice, unhallowed revels and wanton breeding of strife. The pathos is not for the witches, but for the upright husband deceived by his witch-wife, whose repentance is feigned. At length she is discovered by the loss of her hand in one of her midnight escapades while transformed into the shape of a cat; and she is delivered over to justice by her sorrowful and offended lord,

¹ *The Witch of Edmonton*, II, 1.

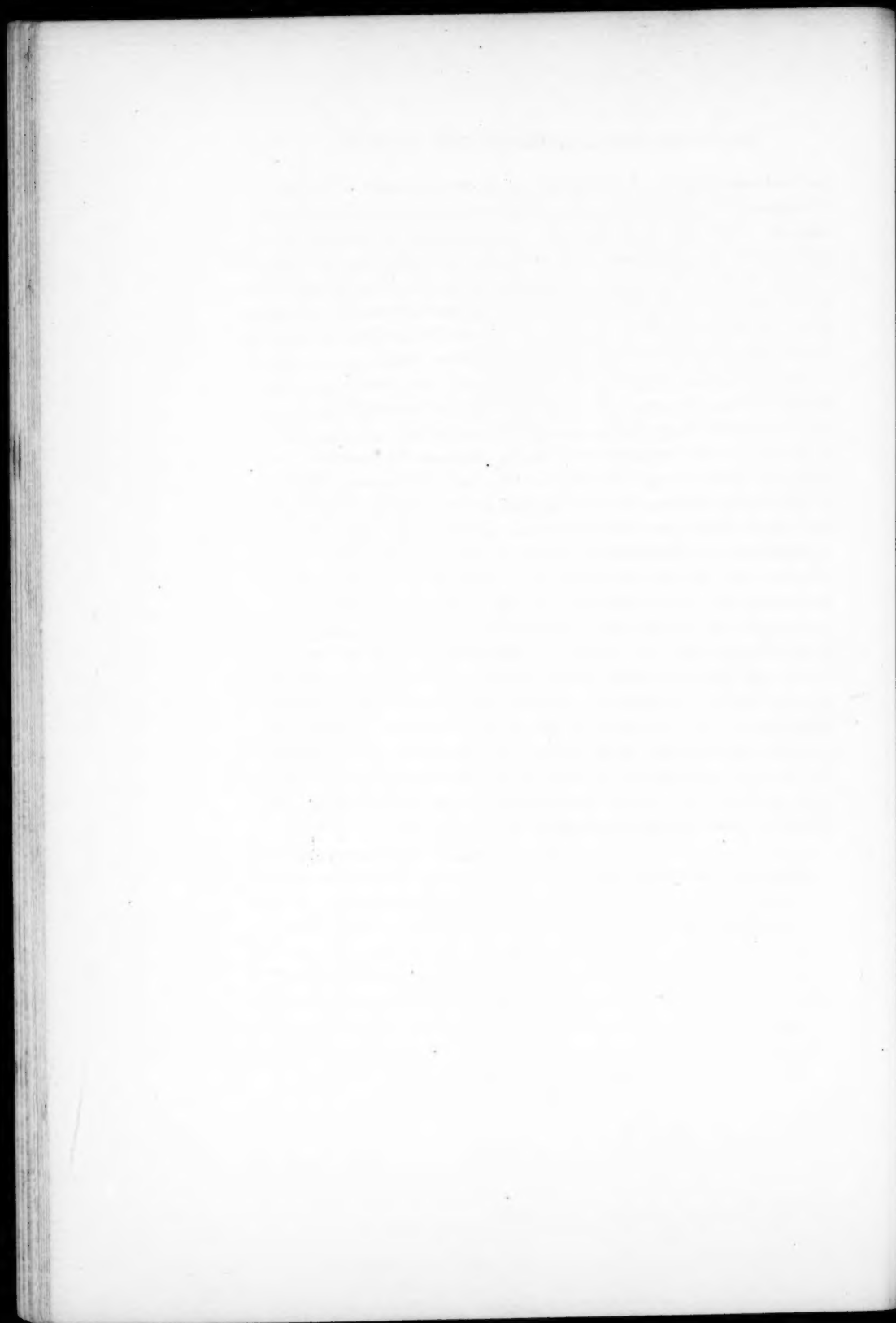
² *Dramatic Works of Heywood* (1874), Vol. IV, pp. 167-262.

but without a qualm of conscience as to the rectitude of his act. *The Lancashire Witches* is an excellent example of the journalist's instinct that sees and instantly appropriates to present use material of current interest. It is terrible to think that the fate of some of the unfortunate thousands that perished in the seventeenth century accused of these loathsome and impossible crimes may have hung on the reception of this circumstantial representation of their alleged misdeeds on the popular stage.

The dreadful compact of Faustus and the pleasing white magic of Friar Bacon were succeeded by the *diablerie* of Grim the Collier and Friar Rush, and by the savage irony of *The Devil is an Ass*. The terpsichorean fairies of Jonson's masques followed the poetical and fanciful sprites of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, to be followed in turn by the satiric elves of Randolph. In each of these cases the general absorption of the supernatural as a motive in Elizabethan drama is satirical; and satire and romance are things absolutely alien and incompatible. With witchcraft the tale is different. From a vague and indefinable element of the preternatural in the wizards of old romance, this *motif* dilated under the hand of Shakespeare into the mysterious horror and spiritual terror which the doings and the prophecies of the witches in *Macbeth* inspire; only to dwindle through Middleton's half successful imitation of the Weird Sisters, and through the grotesque hags of Jonson's masques to compassion for the maunderings of Mother Sawyer and contempt for the lewd gambols and physical transformations of Mall Spencer and Mistress Generous, the Lancashire witches.

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OLD SPANISH ETYMOLOGIES.

OLD SPANISH *afe*, *fe*, etc. None of the explanations proposed for these forms have been accepted generally. Diez¹ regarded *fe* as an aspirated *ve* from *VIDE*: "Dies sp. *fe* ist nichts als ein aspirirtes *ve*, lat. *vide*, und das vorangehende *a* ein blosser Ausruf." Ascoli² has taken exception to this theory and, deeming *afe* to be the earlier form, has seen in the expression only the development of a prepositional phrase meaning "on my faith." He quotes as instances of a similar development both the Latin *hercle* and the Italian *gnaffe*, the latter of which is more obviously to the point.

The Spanish words in question have evident sense relations with the modern *hé* of *hé aquí*, etc., and this *hé* represents a normal phonetic development of *fe*. The Spanish grammars, with the exception of the scientific Bello-Cuervo and kindred works, have conventionally regarded *hé* as the imperative singular of *haber*, thus adopting a point of view with which the theories of both Diez and Ascoli stand in opposition; and Meyer-Lübke³ seems still to see in *hé* a descendant of a Latin singular imperative *HABE*, which has been modified through the analogy of *ve* from Latin *VADE* (more exactly from an older **vai*, says Meyer-Lübke).⁴ Moreover, Meyer-Lübke doubts the authenticity of any Spanish singular imperative *habe*: "Der Imperativ span. *habe* [cited by Diez and others], portg. *ha* ist wohl von dem Grammatikern erfunden; auffällig ist span. *he*, das auf *hae* statt *habe* zurückgehen könnte, wahrscheinlicher aber nach *vas*: *ve* zu *has* gebildet ist." The existence of the Spanish singular *habe* is avouched by Cuervo,⁵ who, however, mentions no examples earlier than the sixteenth century:

El imperativo de *haber* es perfectamente regular: *habe*, *habed*: "*Habe misericordia de mí, pues dende tu niñez por todas las edades creció contigo la misericordia*" (Granada, *Oración I de la vida de Nuestra*

¹ *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, third ed., Vol. II, p. 466.

² *Archivio glottologico italiano*, Vol. X (1868-69), p. 7, note.

³ *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, Vol. II, § 242.

⁴ *Ibid.*, § 232.

⁵ Cf. his edition of BELLO's *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, Paris, 1808, *Notas*, p. 87.

Señora); "*Habed* piedad, Criador, destas vuestras criaturas" (Santa Teresa, *Exclamaciones del alma á Dios VIII*). La primera de estas formas, comunísima cuando *haber* era sinónimo de *tener*, es hoy inusitada; la otra apenas tiene cabida tal cual vez en el lenguaje místico; pero ambas cuadran perfectamente con las anticuadas *habes*, *habe*, *haben* en vez de *has*, *ha*, *han*, que con *habemos*, *habéis*, completaban, salvo la primera persona del singular, el presente regular de *haber*.

Now, waiving the question of the historical legitimacy of a Spanish *habe*—and there are evidences of its early use¹—we shall here strive to indicate the possibility of deriving the series *afe*, *fe*, *hé*, from the plural *habed*, basing our argument chiefly upon the forms found in the Menéndez-Pidal edition of the *Poema del Cid*. In this document the second plural imperative occurs in vs. 3600 (*Aued uuestro derecho*) and in vs. 496 (*auello quitado*). The *auello* of the second example represents *aued* plus *lo* with a not unnatural assimilation of the *d* to the *l*,² and with reference to the same general subject and in the same speech there stands *afelo*, vs. 505: *Todo lo otro afelo en uuestra mano*.

It is a noteworthy fact, to which Bello long ago called attention,³ that *afe* and *fe* regularly occur in a second plural construction in the *Poema del Cid*. Bello's words are these:

Este *afé* parece corrupción de *HABETE*; de lo que no hai duda es que se usó siempre como segunda persona plural, i nunca se dirijió á persona que se tratase de *tú*, pues en este caso se decia *evas* (*habeas*). *Afé*, pues, si no estoi engañado, nunca equivale en los escritos del siglo XIII á *ves aquí*; lo mismo digo de *fé*, que es una contracción de *afé*. De *fé* nacio *hé*, que perdió su significacion plural, i así se dice *hété aquí* (*ecce tibi*) i *héos aquí* (*ecce vobis*).

It is not only true that *afe* thus regularly occurs in the *Cid* in a second plural construction, but it is very possible that in the inception it occurred only with a following *uos* (a vocative or an

¹ Cf. PIETSCH, *Preliminary Notes on Two Old Spanish Versions of the Disticha Catonis*, Chicago, 1903, p. 7, note 16.

² For the assimilation of *dl* to *ll*, cf. *Poema del Cid*, 2136: *Prendellas con vuestras manos e daldas a los yfantes*, where, since *prendellas* represents rather *prendedlas* than *prenderlas*, we seem to have examples both of the assimilation of *d* to *l* and of the other well known Spanish phenomenon of metathesis of *d* and *l*. Cf. also *rotlo* which, like *rolde*, seems to come from *rotulum*, and in the *Crónica rimada*, 375: *Al rey que vos servides, servillo muy sin arte*. In this last example, as well as in *Cid* 496 and 2136, it would seem like begging the question to regard an infinitive as at the basis of the forms with *ll*, when the general construction is that of the second plural of address.

³ Cf. his edition of the *Poema del Cid* in Vol. II of his *Obras completas*, Santiago de Chile, 1881, *Glosario*, p. 350.

ethical dative), as it still does in vss. 152, 262, 476, 1255, 1431, 1499, 1568, 2230, 2368. In most of these cases the *afeuos* stands in a perfect half line of the *romance* type. The *uos* is gone and *afe* stands alone in vss. 505, 1317, 1597, 2088, 2101, 2135, 2175, 2222 (*affe*), 2381, 2947, 3393 (*affe*), but of these the imperfect half lines of 2175 *Afe(uos) los en Valencia*, of 2222 *Affe(uos) amas mis fijas*, and of 3393 *Affe(uos) dos cavalleros* are made *romance* verses by the mere insertion of the *uos*.¹ If, now, with Ascoli and Bello we believe that *afe* was an earlier form than *fe*, and if we assume, as the facts adduced may indicate, that *afe* was in the inception accompanied by *uos*, which was first dropped, perhaps, in the more rapid interjectional use, then we may be safe in deriving the form from *habete plus vos*. From this would come (*h*)*abedvos*, of which the *h* was phonetically valueless, the *b* not distinguishable in value from the *v*, and the combination *dv* one that could not long persist. We see a partial assimilation of the *d* in the *auello* of vs. 496; it is completely assimilated, that is absorbed, in the *Crónica rimada*,² vs. 345: "Rey, dueña so lasrada, è *avéme* piedat." Before the retained *v* of Old Spanish *vos*, we may suppose a disappearance of the *d* similar to that in *avéme*. Then, by a process of dissimilation in the resulting *avevos* we should obtain the form *afevos*, and with a dropping of the *vos*, which still retained its identity, we should have the independent *afe*.

From *afe(vos)* we may obtain the shorter *fe* through a contamination with the prepositional and interjectional phrase *á fe*. The first syllable of the verb, being confused with the preposition, might be disjoined and hence the still more interjectional—because briefer—*fe*. This latter is found in the *Poema del Cid* in vss. 1335 and 3591 in combination with *vos* (vs. 1335 is imperfect and is made a good *romance* verse by changing *feuos* to *afeuos*, i. e., (*A*)*feuos* aqui las señas); without the *vos* and as *fem*, equal to *fe* plus conjoined object pronoun *me*, in vs. 269; without the *vos* and with a conjoined object *los* in vss. 485 (*fellos*), 1452

¹ CORNU, *Zeitschrift f. rom. Philol.*, Vol. XXI (1897), p. 461, adopts these very emendations for vss. 2175 and 3393, but prefers another for vs. 2222.

² Cf. the edition of F. MICHEL, and the extract published by DAMAS-HINARD in his edition of the *Poème du Cid*, Paris, 1858.

(*felos*), 2647 (*felos*), 3534 (*felos*), and 3701 (*felos*). All the last mentioned cases stand in imperfect verses, which are made good *romance* verses by the change of *fe* to *afe* in 485: (A)fellos en Castejon, and by the addition of *uos* as well in 1452: (A)fe(uos) los en Medina, in 2647: (A)fe(vos) los en Molina, and in 3701: (A)fe(uos) los en Valencia.¹ Vs. 3534 is very corrupt, yet one might propose an emendation to (A)fe(uos) los (ya) al plazo. Such corrections, however, would not eliminate all the cases of *fe* which therefore seems a legitimate form in the *Poema del Cid*.

The exclamative prepositional phrase *a fe*, under the influence of which we suppose the verbal exclamative *fe* to have arisen, is perhaps to be seen in the *Cid* in vs. 2140: Dixo Albarfanez: "señor, afe que me plaz.," and, reinforced by the addition of *Dios* (cf. the more modern *Ay Dios*), in 1942: Afe Dios del çielo que nos acuerde en lo mior; in 2155: Afe Dios del çielo, que lo ponga en buen logar; and in 2855: Afe Dios de los çielos que uos de dent buen galardon.

The correlation with *aquí*, which is so common in the modern speech (*hé aquí*), is relatively infrequent in the *Poema del Cid*. It is found, nevertheless, in vss. 1597: Afe me aquí, señor, and 2135: Afe aquí Albarfanez, which are excellent *romance* verses; in 1499: A feos aquí Pero Vermuez, where, however, the line may have to be remedied by the omission of the *aquí*; and in 1335: Feos aquí las señas (cf. the correction proposed above). It would seem that the adverb could appear only in conjunction with a verb, and this may be an argument against Ascoli's derivation of the phrase from simply *a* plus the noun *fé*. The verbal origin seems certain, and Spanish, which, contrary to the custom in Italian and French, has preserved the true imperative of the substantive verb, has also preserved the imperative of *habere* (as Portuguese has likewise done; cf. the citation from Meyer-Lübke given above). Whether or not the second singular *habe* belongs to very early Spanish, the second plural of the imperative of *habere* has persisted in Spanish, and, moreover, it has remained

¹ COENU, *Zeitschrift f. rom. Philol.*, Vol. XXI (1897), p. 461, has adopted the changes proposed in vss. 1335, 485, 1452, 2647, 3701.

in forms due to a double development: *afe-fe-hé*, on the one side, and *habed* on the other. The existence of many doublets in Spanish is a fact well known.¹

Diez's derivation from the imperative of *videre* must still receive some consideration, as must all propositions from the founder of Romance philology. Besides, there is the analogy of the French *voici* and *voilà*. It is true that the present indicative of *ver* appears with some demonstrative force in the *Poema del Cid*; cf. vs. 137: *Ya vedes que*; vss. 114 and 280: *Ya lo vedes que*, etc.; and in the *Crónica rimada* we find vss. 368 and 511: *Vedes aqui sus cartas*, and vs. 750: *Vedes aqui su privilegio*. If the series ending in *hé* goes back to the imperative of *ver*, we shall have to start with the form *fe*, as Diez doubtless did, and again we must suppose an original combination of the second plural with *vos*, whence *vevos* by complete assimilation of the *d* and *fevos* by a dissimilation of the first *v*. The form *afe* might again be due to a contamination with *á fé*. It is interesting to note that the *Crónica general* of 1344² has *afevos* and *afelo* in certain MSS, and in the same passages of other MSS occur the variants *vedes aqui*, *catad aqui*, *catadvos*, *catadlo*, *vedlo*, etc.

In a passage already quoted, Bello mentions the word *evas* used with a similar demonstrative force to that of *afe*. But his etymology from *HABEAS* seems hardly borne out by facts, since the *y* of the combination *by* does not appear to have reacted upon the preceding syllable as that of *py* did (cf. *sapiat-sepa* by the side of *HABEAT-haya* and *FOVEAM-hoya*). The forms of this troublesome verb occurring in the *Poema del Cid* are vss. 2172: *Euay Asur Gonçalez*; 820: *Euades aqui oro*; 2326: *Euades que pauor han uuestros yernos tan osados*; 2519: *Euades aqui, yernos, la mi mugier de pro*; and 2123: *Euad aqui uuestros fijos*. To these Bello adds a singular *evas*, which he finds in a translation of the Bible, where it renders the *ECCE* of its Latin original and where the address is in the second singular.³ All these forms seem to adapt themselves to a verb of the first con-

¹ Cf. C. M. DE VASCONCELLOS, *Studien zur romanischen Wortschöpfung*, pp. 208 ff.

² Cf. the extracts published by R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, Madrid, 1896, 301, 12; 306, 10; 312, 1.

³ Cf. BELLO, ed. of the *Poema del Cid*, p. 376.

jugation, and they are not explained by Körtling's *EVADERE*,¹ or by Diez's *VIDEAS, VIDEATIS*.² Damas-Hinard³ has called attention to the fact that in every case in the *Poema del Cid* the word begins the line—which it might naturally do, by reason of its demonstrative and interjectional force—and proposed to read the first letter as the conjunction *e* “and.” Would it be too fantastic to start with the form in vs. 2172, *euay*, and to decompose it as *e ua y* “and there goes”?⁴ The *y* might have been added only in this original case, and the conjunction plus *va* might have been used as the basis of a new verb *evay*, whence would come the other forms. As Diez notes, *loc. cit.*, the Portuguese verb *evay* is given by Santa Rosa; its history must have to do with that of the Spanish verb and on it would depend the value of the etymology proposed here.

O. Sp. *ambidos*, *amidos*. From *ad-invitus* (with nominative or rather adverbial *s*) and not merely from *invitus*, since there seem to be no traces of a form *embidos* or *emidos* parallel to the French *envis*, etc. It is possible, however, that the initial syllable was simply affected at a very early stage by a correlation of the word with a prepositional phrase containing *a*; cf. the *Libro de Alexandre*,⁵ stanza 1551: *a forçia o ambidos* and the *Danza de la muerte*:⁶ *a fuerça e amidos*. In Berceo, *Santo Domingo*, stanza 104: *a amidos* and *San Laurençio*, stanza 16: *adamidos*, there is either a reduplication of the preposition or an addition of it to the modified *amidos*. Diez has noted⁷ the correlation *amidos e con miedo* (cf. Hita, *El libro de buen amor*; 329: *amidos e con miedo*); it is not impossible that a phrase *a miedo e amidos* has had some influence on the development of the *a* in *amidos*.

O. Sp. *troçir*, “to cross,” “to cross over (by, through),” “to pass by” (of time). This verb occurs in the *Poema del Cid* in vss. 307, 2653, 2687 (*troçir*); 543 (*troçen*); 1475, 2656, 2875

¹ Cf. *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*, No. 2800.

² Cf. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*, fifth ed., p. 450.

³ Cf. his ed. of the *Poème du Cid*, p. 22.

⁴ CORNU (*Zeitschrift f. rom. Philol.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 461 ff.) amends to *Iva y*, thus expunging here what seems to be a well substantiated verb.

⁵ *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. LVII.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 380.

⁷ *Wörterbuch*, p. 422.

(troçieron); and 3545 (troçida). Cf. Berceo, *Milagros*, stanza 381 (troçió). Diez and Körting refer the word to *traducere*, which in the figurative sense "to translate" has regularly given *traduzir* (cf. the translation of the *Iliad* of which Vollmöller has published extracts in *Studien zur Literaturgeschichte*, Michael Bernays gewidmet, Hamburg, 1893, p. 238, l. 8). The source may rather be *torquere*, Vulgar Latin **torcere*. Cf. the *Poema de Fernán González*,¹ stanza 43: *ovo por las paryas a Maruecos torçido*, and 140: *Los poderes de França. . . . Por los de Aspanna fueron luego torçidos*. The metathesis of *r* is a fairly common phenomenon in Spanish (cf. *crepantare-quebrantar*, etc.). For the sense development, cf. the English *wend*, *went*. In the change of conjugation we may apprehend some influence of *ire*, *transire*.

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¹ *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. LVII.



THE ORIGIN AND MEANING OF THE NAME YGGDRASIL.

IN his *Studier over de nordiske Gude- og Heltesagns Oprindelse*,¹ Christiania, 1881-89, pp. 291-528, Professor Sophus Bugge has examined in detail the two closely related myths concerning "Odin on the gallows" (*Hǫvamsþál* 138, 139) and the ash Yggdrasil. He has shown that both myths must have originated from mediæval legends concerning the crucifixion of Christ and the Christian cross, and he has, as I shall try to corroborate in this paper, correctly identified the most important material upon which the myth of the world-tree Yggdrasil is based. But I believe it can be shown that an important link in the chain of evidence is still to be supplied; for, as I believe, the etymology and meaning of the name *Yggdrasil* have not as yet been satisfactorily explained. In the present paper I shall try to show that the name is itself direct, not indirect, evidence of the foreign origin of the myth, and that it is not derived from the myth of "Odin on the gallows."

The myth of the tree Yggdrasil is known to us from the Elder and the Younger Edda. In *Völuspá* 19 the tree is thus described:²

An ash I know, 'tis called Yggdrasil,
The high tree, sprinkled with white water;
Thence come the dews that fall in the valleys,
Forever green it stands o'er the fountain of Urd.³

Compare also *Grimnesmál* 31:

¹ German translation by BRENNER: *Studien über die Entstehung der nordischen Götter- und Heldensagen*, München, 1889.

² See GOLTHE, *Germ. Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1895, pp. 527 ff.

³ For the reader's convenience I give the O. N. original for the translated stanzas. The text is Sijmons's, which has not been followed literally:

Ask veitk standa, heiter Yggdrasels,
hér baðmr ausenn hvíta auru;
þá þan koma daggvar þérs í dala falla,
stendr é of grœnn Urðar brunne.

Three roots run in three directions
 Under the ash Yggdrasill;
 Under the first dwells Hel, under the second the frost giants,
 Under the third the folk of man.¹

Also in *Fjölsvinsmöl* 13 and 14 the tree is thus described:

Svipdagr said:
 Tell me that, Fjölsviðr, which I will ask you
 And do desire to know:
 How is named the tree which spreads abroad
 Its limbs over all lands?
 Fjölsviðr answered:
 Mimi's tree 'tis called; no one knows
 From what roots it springs;
 It shall fall for that, which fewest believe:
 Fire will not fell it, nor iron.²

Other features of the myth from the Elder Edda may be gathered up in a brief paragraph. Mimi's fountain is at the foot of the tree, whence the name "Mimi's tree." In its branches sit an eagle and a hawk, and up and down the tree runs a squirrel called Ratatoskr. Four harts run about in the branches and eat of the leaves. Below a dragon, Niphoggr, and other worms gnaw on the roots. For other features the reader must be referred to the manuals and to the poems themselves.

In Snorre's Edda (chapter 15) the picture of the world-tree is in its main outlines as follows: The ash Yggdrasill is the greatest and best of all trees. Its branches spread out over the whole world, and its crown reaches heaven. It has three roots: the first of these reaches men (MS. has "the gods," but see Golther, p. 529); the second, the giants; the third, Hell. Under each root is

¹ *Dríar rótir standa á þrjá vega
 und aske Yggdrasils:
 Hel þýr und einne, annare hrímþursar,
 þriðjo menasker menn.*

² *Svipdagr kvað:
 Seg þu mér þat, Fjölsviðr, es ek þik fregna mun
 ok ek vilja vita:
 hvat [þat] þarr heiter, es treijask af
 lönd öll limar?*

*Fjölsviðr kvað:
 Mímameiðr [hann heiter], en þat mange veit
 hvers hann af rótum rinn;
 við þat hann fellr, es fíestan varer:
 feller hann eldr né járn.*

a fountain, Urd's, Mimi's, and the fountain Hvergelmir, respectively. The tree stands in the middle of the earth.

So much for the conception, and now for a consideration of the name and of its relation to the myth of the hanging of Odin, which in *Hǫvumól* 138 and 139 is as follows:

I know that I hung on the windy tree
 Nine nights throughout,
 Wounded by spear, sacrificed to Odin,
 Myself to myself,
 [On the mighty tree, of which men do not know
 From what roots it springs].
 They offered me no drink nor bread;
 Below my eyes I cast,
 I raised up the runes, weeping I raised them:
 Back thence I fell.¹

According to Bugge's interpretation of the name *Yggdrasil*, the above myth is the cause for its existence: *Yggdrasil* is composed of two words, namely, *Yggr*, "The Terrible One," a name of Odin, and *drasil*, "horse, steed," a word which has no existence outside of Skaldic poetry. *Yggdrasil* must therefore mean "Ygg's horse," "Odin's steed," and it must be a kenning or metaphor employed by the Skalds for the gallows upon which Odin was hung, for "horse" is a common metaphor in English, German, and Scandinavian for "gallows." Even Christ's cross is in a M. E. poem of the fourteenth century described as "Jesus palfraye;" and in another poem (Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, E. E. T. S. 46, p. 148) it is said of Jesus that he rode "on stokky stede."

The interpretation of *Yggdrasil* as "Ygg's, Odin's horse" is widely accepted by scholars.² Both Kaufmann³ and Mogk,⁴ who

¹ Veitk at ek hekk vindga meiþe á
 nátr allar níu,
 geire undaþr ok gefenn Óþne,
 sjalfr sjölfum mér,
 [á þeim meiþe, es mange veit
 hvers hann af rótum rínn].
 Við hleife mik spdo né við hornage;
 nýta ek níðr:
 namk upp rúnar, þpande namk;—
 fell ek aþr þápan.

² As KAUFMANN, *Beitr.*, Vol. XV, p. 204, has noticed, this interpretation had already been given by UHLAND, *Skriften*, Vol. VI, p. 361.

³ "Odin am Galgen," *Beitr.*, Vol. XV, p. 204.

PAUL's *Grundriss*², Vol. III, p. 335.

are strongly opposed to Bugge and his school, also give their approval to this interpretation.

There are two serious objections against this view of the name and they may be stated as follows:

1. If *Yggdrasill* means "Ygg's horse," then it is not in agreement in form with other kennings of this kind, such as *Mimameidr*, where the genitive form of *Mimi* is employed; cf. "Signy's husband's cold horse" (*svalan hest Signýjar vers*¹), and other kennings in which Odin's name *Yggr* is found: *Yggs at* = "proelium," *Yggjar veðr* = "pugna," *Yggjar bál* = "gladius," and *Yggjar eldr* = "gladius."² In each of these cases of Skaldic metaphors we find the genitive case of *Yggr*, never *Ygg-*, which is explained by Bugge as the form used in composition. He cites a parallel example in the Norw. dial. name for *Daphne Mezereum*: *tyvid* (O. Swed. *tivedh*) and *tysvid* (O. N. **tývidr* and **týsvidr*) stand side by side; but it seems to me to be questionable whether this is a reliable example. An original O. N. **týsvidr* (the god Týr's wood) may have suffered the loss of its -s- because the genitive form in composition with -*vidr* seemed anomalous by the side of the numerous regular compounds in which -*vidr*, -*vid* was the second element: cf. *eldvid*, *furuvid*, *törvid*, etc., etc.; in *Tuesday*, *Tirsdag*, the -s- remains, and there is, so far as I am aware, no by-form without it. Detter³ strongly urges this objection and holds that *Yggdrasill* can only mean "Schreckenspferd," or "Schreckpferd," "Schreckliches Pferd;" cf. *yggja* "metuere" by the side of *ugga*, *yggligr*, *ygglaust* by the side of *uggligr*, *ugglaust*.⁴ Heinzel⁵ also has rejected the usual interpretation. In a review of E. H. Meyer's *Völuspa* he says: "Ebenso ist es unrichtig, dass *Yggdrasell* den hengst Odhins 'mit hochskaldischem namen' bezeichne. Als kenning kann *Yggdrasell* nur 'galgen' heissen, nicht, 'galgen Odhins,' oder 'hengst Odhins.'" There is, so far as I can see, no reason why *Yggdrasill* should be considered equivalent to *Yggs* (*Yggjar*) *drasill*, *Yggsdrasill*.

¹ *Ynglingasaga*, ed. JÓNSSON. p. 36.

² For these and others see WISÉN, *Carmina Norroena*, Gl. p. 339.

³ *Ark. f. nord. Filologi*, Vol. XIII, pp. 99 and 207.

⁴ Also KAHLE, *IF*. Vol. XIV, p. 180, accepts the view of Detter.

⁵ *Anz. f. d. Altertum*, Vol. XVI, p. 345.

2. The second objection is concerned with the etymology and meaning of the word *drasill*. In Skaldic poetry it is used for "horse, steed," and Bugge supposes that it must originally have been the name of a certain horse in some heroic legend. The substitution of a specific name for a general one is common in Skaldic poetry: "Sleipner of flax-ropes" (*hgrva Sleipnir*) means "horse of flax-ropes," i. e. "the gallows;" any horse may be called "Grani's bride," *Grani* being the name of a certain horse. This kind of kenning can not be old, for it indicates a development in poetics exclusively Skaldic, and *Yggdrasill* can not for the same reason be a popular name drawn from popular belief: it must have originated far out in the Viking age.² As to the etymology of the word *drasill* Bugge³ suggests that it may "perhaps" (*maaske*) be connected with the verb *þrasa*, "to behave in a threatening manner in order to drive another way" (*Lok.* 58), cognate with Latin *terrere*; if *drasill* comes from *þrasa* then *þ* must have become *d* by Verner's law (**drasila-*). It is significant that Bugge further adds: "I do not believe that *Drasill* is related to Goth. *ga-dars*, 'I dare,'" and that he makes mention (although with disapproval) of John Olafsen's conjecture (*Nordens gamle Digtekonst*, p. 83) that *drasill* is borrowed from Latin *dorsuale*. It is clear that no satisfactory explanation of *drasill* has yet been found. There is no other evidence for the existence of a doublet *þras- : dras-*, and there is nothing to show that *drasill* really meant "terrifier." Since the meaning of the word has not been known it has been impossible to say whether it is a natural or a far-fetched *heiti* for a certain horse, or whether it is a natural or far-fetched kenning for "horse" in general. It has not been proved that *drasill* is indisputably a Germanic word, although its ending *-ill* apparently conforms to the Norse suffix *-ill* (Germanic *-ila-*).

The above objections against the prevailing view concerning the nature and meaning of the compound *Yggdrasill* are, it seems to me, weighty enough to render it doubtful whether the true solution of the problem has been found. Nor does the more

¹ Studier, p. 306; *Ynglingasaga*, ed. Jónsson, p. 44.

² Studier, p. 308.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 306, footnote.

literal interpretation of Heinzel, Detter, and Kahle sufficiently explain the point, for it leaves out of consideration the etymology and original meaning of the word *drasill*, and these are, as I shall try to show, of the greatest importance.

In order to explain the name *Yggdrasill* it will be necessary to turn to an important mediæval Christian source for the Yggdrasill conception. This has been pointed out by Bugge in his *Studier*, p. 449 ff. This source is represented by a Latin legend¹ of the thirteenth century concerning the origin of the cross, in which it is said that it is really identical with the tree of knowledge. In this legend there is an episode describing Seth's journey to Paradise for the oil of mercy. As I have not seen the Latin text, I have, in the following summary, followed that of Bugge. Adam requests his son Seth to go to Paradise for the oil of mercy, for he is about to die. By the angel who guards the tree of life he is permitted to put his head within the gate. Among other things he sees in the middle of Paradise the clearest fountain, from which run the four rivers Phison, Gihon, Tigris, and Euphrates, which supply the whole earth with water. Over the fountain he sees a large tree with many branches, but without leaves and bark. He concludes that it is bare on account of his parents' sin. Again Seth looks in; he sees a snake clinging to the tree. He looks in a third time and discovers that the tree has grown up to heaven, and in its top he sees a weeping child in swaddling clothes. He also notices that the root of the tree reaches down to hell, where he recognizes the soul of his brother Abel. The angel tells him that the child is the son of God and the oil of mercy which had been promised to Adam when he was driven from Paradise.

This legend is of the thirteenth century, but it is reasonable to assume that it represents older legends of similar character. Many of its features Bugge points out in other earlier sources. The bareness of the tree, as it is without bark and leaves, is a feature which corresponds to a conception of the tree of knowledge as represented on several early Gallic-Christian grave-monuments,

¹ Latin text in W. MEYER, *Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christus*, München, 1881 (*Abhandl. d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*).

where two trees stand over against each other, the one covered with leaves, the other dry and almost without leaves;¹ no doubt they represent the tree of life and the tree of knowledge, respectively.

This Latin legend of the origin of the cross is represented in several European languages, and it was widely distributed in England.² A M.E. version of the story is printed by Morris in his *Legends of the Holy Rood* (E. E. T. S. 46), London, 1871, pp. 18 and 19 ff., in two closely related texts. The first MS is of the thirteenth century and bears the title *þe Holy Rode*; the second is of the fourteenth century and has a more definite title, namely, *Hou þe holy cros was yfounde*. I shall use the former text in the following line-for-line translation and paraphrase of significant portions:

The holy rood, the sweet tree, it is right to have in mind,
That has from strong death brought to life all mankind;
Through a tree we first were lost, and first brought to ground,
And through a tree afterwards brought to life: praised be that hour!
All it came from one root, that brought us to death
And that brought us to life again, through Jesus that us bought.
From the apple-tree that our first father took the vile apple,
In the way that I shall tell you, the sweet rood came.—ll. 1-8.

Then follows the Seth episode substantially as told above on the basis of the Latin original. Seth looks in through the gate of Paradise, and

Amid the place that was so fair he saw a fair well
From which all waters that are on earth come, as the book
doth tell;
Over the well stood a tree, with boughs broad and bare,
But it bore neither leaf nor bark, as if it were very aged,
An adder had clipped it about, all naked without skin:
That was the tree and the adder, which made Adam first do sin.
Again he looked in at the gate; it seemed to him he saw the tree
Fairly covered with leaves and grown up to heaven on high;
A young child he saw up in the tree, in small clothes wound;
The root of the tree, it seemed to him, reached throughout the
bottom of hell.
The angel drove him from the gate, etc.—ll. 71-82.

¹ *Studier*, p. 459.

² *Ibid.*, p. 449.

The angel now explains the meaning of the oil of mercy, and the poem thus continues:

The angel turned to that tree, an apple therefrom he took,
And gave Seth thereof three seeds, when he came to him,
And bade him lay these seeds under his father's tongue,
And bury him when he was dead, and look what thereof sprung.

—ll. 87-90.

The rest of the poem is concerned with the history of the three wands which spring up from Adam's grave, and which finally become one tree. Moses, David, Solomon, and the Queen of Sheba are brought into connection with it, and when Jesus is about to be crucified the Jews find it and make it into the cross.

In the legend the barkless and leafless tree of knowledge becomes in the next moment the tree of life and, in the course of time, the Christian cross. The Christian cross is a world-tree in that it bore on itself the sins of the world through Christ's death for the whole world. Numerous early Christian authors found traces of the cross everywhere in nature.¹ When birds spread out their wings their form is that of a cross. The first man and woman were created in the form of a cross. Even the world is in the form of the cross.

So also the Norse ash-tree *Yggdrasill* is a symbol of the world. The myth is a fine example of that poetic process through which foreign and strange elements have been almost perfectly assimilated and recreated. The poets have made it so much their own that for centuries men have believed it to be an independent and original creation of the Germanic or Norse imagination.

The second element of the name *Yggdrasill* is, in my opinion, partly derived from the Latin adjective *rāsilis*, "polished, smooth, bare." In Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 17, 23 (35), an old vine is described as *rāsilis*, "deprived of bark" (*draconem palmitem rasilem*), and in Prud., *στεφ.* 3, 69, is found *scopuli rasiles*, "smooth rocks," that is, "deprived of herbage, bare" (cf. Andrews, *Lat. Dict.*, for both references). The epithet *rāsilis* must have been used in the Latin legend or poem from which some Norseman borrowed the conception of a world-tree. It corresponds with exactness to the

¹ See MORRIS, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, p. xxx (The Analogy of the Cross in Nature).

description of the tree of knowledge in the Latin legend summarized by Bugge and in the M. E. poem from which passages have been translated above:

*Ouer þe welle stod a tre, with bowes brode and lere
Ac it ne bar noþer lef ne rynde, as it uorolded were.*—ll. 73 f.

The tree was bare, barkless, and leafless, that is, it was—to describe it by means of a Latin adjective—*rāsilis*.¹

But in order to account for the initial *d* in *drasill* we must now consider the first element of the name. This must originally have been *ygg*, the neuter form of the adjective which is used as a proper name in *Yggr*, "The Terrible One." The form *ygg* occurs once in the Elder Edda, namely in *Atlamal* 1, 6:

ygg vas ðeim síðan
ok et sama sonom Gjuka,
es vðro sannrðóner.²

"Terrible it was for them later, and the same (namely *ygg*) for the sons of Gjuki who were grievously betrayed."

It was long supposed that the MS had *ygr*, with an *r* substituted for a partially erased *t*, but Wimmer and Jónsson³ have

¹Since the above was in type I have been able to consult MEYER's monograph, *Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christus* (*Abhandl. d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Vol. XVI, 2, pp. 101-66), which contains the text of the Latin legend on the history of the Christian cross. To an editor of this JOURNAL I had already expressed the opinion that the word *rasilis* was probably not used in this particular version, for if it had been used here, its similarity to the second element of *Yggdrasill* would no doubt have been noticed by Bugge who has studied the legend in connection with the Yggdrasill myth. I here give a few lines from that part of the legend which concerns the present matter, a few variant readings being given in the parentheses: (p. 135) *super ipsum uero fontem quaedam (magna V) arbor stabat nimis ramosa, sed foliis et cortice nudata. meditari ipse cepit, quare arbor illa ita nudata esset . . . cepit meditari arborem illam esse nudatam propter peccata eorum . . . intuitus est serpentem (magnum V) circa arborem nudatam inuolutatum . . . (p. 136) vidit arborem iam dictam usque ad celos eleuatam . . . vidit radicem (draconem A) eiusdem arboris terram penetrantem usque in infernum pertingere . . . (p. 137) dedit ei angelus tria grana pomi (arboris add. V) illius de quo (qua V) manducauerat pater eius . . . With *palmes rasilis*, *scopuli rasiles*, cited above, compare also *nudum nemus*, *loca nuda pignentium*, *nudata cacumina silvae* (Andrews); hence it is correct to assume the equation *nudus, nudatus = rasilis*.*

Another note may here be added. For the connection of the cross with the tree of knowledge, cf. GERVASIUS VON TILBURY, *Otia Imperialia* (1212): *Sed et alii dicunt, Adam de Paradiso tulisse pomum vel surculum ligni vetiti, ex cuius semine fuit cruz; and, further on, Traditio Graecorum habet, quod de arbore illa, in cuius fructu peccauit Adam, ramus fuit translatus in Ierusalem, qui in tantam excreuit arborem, quod de illo facta est cruz domini* (Meyer, p. 118).

²Cf. JÓNSSON, *Eddalieder*, Vol. II, p. 82. In his text Jónsson has the emendation *ygg* instead of *ygg* as above (MS *ygt*), presumably because he was then under the impression that the MS had *ygr*. So BUGGE, *Nor. Fornkv.*, p. 292, who prints *ygr* in his text.

³*Haandskriftet No. 2865*, etc. (*Codex Regius*), Kjöbenhavn, 1891, p. 81, l. 11, and p. 182.

decided that *r* has been erased and *t* substituted. In his new edition of the *Heldenlieder* (1902) Sijmons has adopted the form *ygg^t*,¹ which will presumably be allowed to stand hereafter as the correct reading. The original name of the tree was therefore **ygg^t rasilis*, **ygg^t trasilis*, which, however, could only be spoken as **ygg^t-trasilis*, since the *t* must necessarily range itself phonetically with the second syllable. A *-t-* in such a position, and thus beyond etymological control (as the sign of the neuter gender of *ygg^r*), could easily and naturally between the long voiced stop *gg* and the sonorous *r* become voiced to a *-d-*. This process was no doubt favored by the fact that the second element was not understood and could not be kept free from the *t* (*d*). I have marked the vowel *ā* in *rāsilis* as long, but it is by no means certain that the Norseman who first created the name **ygg^t trasilis* so pronounced it, but if he actually did so, nothing would be more natural than a shortening under a secondary accent. Syncope of the last *i* must also be assumed as an early stage in the history of the name; thus, **ygg^t rasilis* > **ygg^t trasilis* > **ygg^d trasilis* > *ygg^d trasils*; it is of course immaterial whether the syncope of *i* is later or earlier than the change of *t* to *d*.

Having identified the two elements of the name it now remains to explain why *ygg^t* was coupled with *rāsilis*, a native with a Latin word. We must again refer to the vision of Seth in Paradise. The tree which Seth saw was in reality an apple-tree, and it was from this tree that Adam took the vile apple:

Of þe appeltre² þat our uerste fader þen luper appæl nom,
In þe manere þat ichulle you telle, þe swete rode com.—ll. 7 f.

I cannot believe that the conception of the tree of knowledge as an apple-tree occurs here for the first time. It is such a natural inference from the story of the fall of Adam and Eve that it may be supposed to be much older than the thirteenth century.

¹ See also GERING, *Glossar z. d. Lied. d. Edda*, 2. Aufl., 1896, p. 202. He is uncertain whether to assume a form *ygt* or *ygg^t*, neut. of *ygr* or *ygg^r*.

² The later MS (Vernon), MORRIS, p. 19, has *tree*; so also the Harl. MS 2277. Also in the O.N. version of the same legend (*Heilagra Manna Sögur*, ed. UNGER, Chra., 1877, Vol. I, p. 299) the tree is called an appletree: *Enn ífr kelldunni sá hann apalldr einn standa með morgum greinum ok þá barklausan. . . . Enn þá er hann veik aptr. þá sá hann fyrrnefndan apalldr uppræinn til himna, etc.* But *apalldr* is sometimes used for "tree" in general as well as for "apple-tree."

I therefore make the surely not unreasonable conjecture that the legend or poem from which a Norseman borrowed his conception of the world-tree described the tree of knowledge as a *mālus rāsilis*, "a bare, leafless, and barkless apple-tree," as in the M. E. version cited above. The Norseman who was confronted by this expression probably did not understand *rāsilis* at all, but he may have thought that he understood *mālus*, which he identified with the Latin adjective *mālus*,¹ an epithet fitting enough as long as the tree is considered as the tree of knowledge or as the instrument of a terrible death. He must have thought that *rāsilis* was a noun and a specific name of the tree, and since he could not translate it he adopted it in its original form. He has treated it as a neuter noun perhaps on the analogy of O.N. *tré*, *n.* (cf. also Lat. *lignum*, *n.*, common in early Christian literature for the cross). The Latin *mālus* has such a wide range of meaning that it will be difficult, perhaps impossible, to say what shade of meaning he saw in it. This meaning would no doubt be dependent on the context in which *mālus rāsilis* occurred. Perhaps a meaning "evil, terrible, awful," will not be far wide of the mark (cf. *yggt* in the *Atlamp* passage above). It would therefore not seem unfitting to translate *malus rasilis* as "The Terrible (Gallows-) Tree, The Awful Gallows;" cf. English *bitter cross*, *cursed cross*, and Lat. *mala crux*, which is of frequent occurrence in Plautus and Terence: *i (abi) in malam crucem* "go and be hanged;" *dignus fuit, qui malo cruce* (masc.) *periret*, Enn. ann. 261 (Georges).²

It now remains to discuss the origin of the nominative form *drasil*. Since the Christian world-tree was in the North conceived of as an ash, the name was usually found in the collocation *askr Yggdrasils*. Only once, namely in *Völuspá* 19, 1, does the name *Yggdrasil* appear independently of *askr*. This stanza is recorded in five MSS.: three of them have *ygdrasil*, one *ygdrasil*, and one *ygdrasils*. Bugge and most editors have

¹ If he could confuse *mālus* with *mālus*, could he not also read *rāsilis* as *rāsilis*?

² The question as to whether there is in Norse sources any trace of the conception of the tree of knowledge as leafless and barkless (*rāsilis*) is answered in the affirmative by Bugge, *Studier*, p. 458. In *Grimnesmål* 35, 2, it is said of the tree that "it rots on the side (*á hlíðu fúnar*)."² The connection is a very probable one; the dragon *Níðhogg* which gnaws on the tree from below is probably also, with Bugge, the dragon of Seth's vision.

followed the majority reading. Sijmons has adopted the reading *Yggdrasels*, presumably on the assumption that *askr* is to be supplied mentally: *Ask veitk standa heiter Yggdrasels* (sc. *askr*).¹ The frequency of the formula *askr Yggdrasils* naturally led to the assumption that *-drasils* was the genitive form: cf. *allt rtkit Italielands*, *Rómaborgar rtki*, *fiskr þjóðvitis*, *Fenris úlfr*, which are parallel examples to *arbor fici*, *urbs Antiochiae*, etc.² The inference that *-drasils* was the genitive form could also easily be drawn from the fact that the word seemed to contain the common Norse suffix *-ill* (Gmc. *-ila-*). Thus a nominative form *-drasill* was obtained through an analogical process which does not differ in principle from that which accounts for the singular *Chinee* from *Chinese*, *Portuguee* from *Portuguese*, *shay* from *chaise*, *pea* from O. E. *pios-an*.

In the light of the foregoing the reading *heiter Yggdrasils* may reasonably be considered a relic from a time when the tree was actually called *Yggdrasils* (**yggdrasilis*), and before the form *drasill* had been obtained in the manner that has been indicated.

Now, since the name *Yggdrasill* meant "cross, gallows" (cf. Goth. *galga Xristaus*; O. E. *gealga*, O. N. *galgi*, also used of the Christian cross), and since the second element could not be understood and identified with a native word, it would be natural for the Skaldic poets to regard it as a kenning for "gallows;" and since "horse" was a very frequent kenning for "gallows,"³ the conclusion was easily and naturally reached that *drasill* must be a kenning for "horse." Hence the poetic word *drasill*, "horse," found nowhere except in Skaldic poetry, and leaving no trace of itself in popular speech.

The name *Yggdrasill* is therefore not originally drawn from the story of the hanging of Odin as described in the *Hávamöl*.

¹ MAGNÚSSON, *Odin's Horse Yggdrasill*, London, 1895, p. 5 *et passim* interprets *askr Yggdrasils* as "the ash of Odin's horse," "the ash of Sleipner," which is the horse of Odin. *Yggdrasill* is, therefore, not the name of the tree, but simply a kenning for the eight-footed Sleipner, which is symbolic of the winds that blow among the branches of the world-tree. MOGK, *Mythologie, P. Gr.*, Vol. III, p. 335, approves of this interpretation.

² DETTER, *Ark. f. nord. Filologi*, Vol. XIII, p. 235.

³ One or two examples from English may here be added: "to mount the wooden horse" = "to be hanged on the gallows;" "You'll ride on a horse that was foaled of an acorn. That is the gallows" (cf. N. E. D.).

On the contrary it is even possible that the name which meant "gallows" and which might seem to contain the name *Yggr*, "Odin," may be the cause for the transference of the story of Christ's crucifixion to Odin.¹ Proper names are most prolific myth-makers. The mythological dictionaries and manuals are full of references to this very common process, and it is unnecessary to cite examples. It is, of course, possible that the crucifixion story may have been transferred to Odin for some other reason. For the present, however, I prefer to leave this matter in abeyance.

In the name *Yggdrasil* there lies, as I believe, a definite answer to the question whether Norse mythology has been materially influenced by Christian conceptions and legends, and also a proof that Bugge's point of view and method are correct. It gives us some insight into the method and material of Skaldic poetry and into the cultural relations of Norway with the outside world in the Viking Age. All the sources of Norse mythology and heroic legends must be carefully studied in order that the native and foreign elements may be distinguished from each other, and in order that we may correctly understand the nature of Scandinavian culture in this period. Professor Bugge's epoch-making studies in northern mythological and heroic legends have already accomplished so much in this direction that the present contribution, if it receive the approval of scholars, will seem only a slight one. If my results be correct, then I have found the truth in this particular case only because I have long recognized the importance of Bugge's great work.²

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¹ MAGNÜSSON, *Odin's Horse*, p. 41, explains the origin of the myth of Odin's hanging as due to the "false reading" *heiter Yggdrasil* (*Vsp.* 19, 1) for *heiter Yggdrasil*. See also p. 21, footnote.

² This paper was already completed before *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Vol. XIV (1903), came to hand. This volume contains an article by KAHLE, "Altwestnordische Namenstudien," and one by NOREEN, "Suffix-Ablaut im Altnordischen," and in both articles reference is made to the declension of *drasil*, which shows an *q* in dat. sg., *drpsli*; gen. pl. and acc., *drpsla*; dat. *drpslum*. Kahle, p. 157, compares *ferill*: *fprull*, *bitill*: *bitull*, *gengill*: *gongull*, but also considers it possible, with Bugge, that *q* is due to the analogy of the dat. plural. Noreen, p. 396, would set up the rule that *-il*: *-ul* was so distributed that the former stood in the unsynopated cases, the latter in the synopated ones. It cannot be shown even on this basis that *drasil* is a Germanic word: its declension would naturally follow the analogy of other nouns ending in *-ill*.



THE MEDIÆVAL DRAMA.

THE Greeks, from the rudest beginnings and by the aid of their incomparable instinct for form, brought to perfection a lofty type of tragedy and an original kind of comedy. The Latins, who had at least the germ of a comic drama of their own, were proud to borrow the comedy of the Greeks, although in their hands it was sadly sterile. In the stalwart days of the Roman commonwealth the drama failed to strike its roots firmly into the soil; and it seems to have had scant encouragement in the capital from either the men of culture or the coarser populace. When at last the empire solidified itself upon the ruins of the republic and the eagles of Rome were borne almost to the confines of the world, the cosmopolitan inhabitants of this immense realm were never educated to appreciate the calm pleasures of the theater. They were encouraged to prefer the fierce joy of the chariot-race, the brutal delight of the arena, and the poignant ecstasy of the gladiatorial combat. The sole vestiges of the true drama were the vulgar farces of the rustics that lingered in odd corners of Italy, and the obscene and cruel pantomimes which were devised to gratify the relish of the mob for lewdness and its liking for gore. Neither the rough comic plays of the peasants nor the abominable pantomimes of the court had any relation to literature. After the conversion of Constantine, the lustful and bloody spectacles were accursed by the church. It was to be expected that the Fathers should condemn the theater absolutely, since it was—in the sole aspect in which they had occasion to behold it—unspeakably vile.

With the triumph of Christianity theatrical performances were abolished; and it must have seemed as though the drama was destroyed forever. It is true that in some obscure nooks rural farces might linger, forgotten links in the chain that was to stretch from the Atellan fables to the late Italian comedy-of-masks. But this doubtful survival seems to have little significance; and apparently the break in the tradition of the theater was final and irreparable. Dramatic literature, which had been a

chief glory of Athens, ceased from off the earth when Constantinople supplanted Rome as the capital of civilization. For a thousand years and more the history of the drama is all darkness and vacancy; and we have not a single name recorded of any author writing plays to be performed by actors, in a theater, before an audience.

The desire for the drama, which seems to be instinctive in human nature the wide world over, from the Aleutian islanders to the Bushmen of Australia—the impulse to personate and to take pleasure in beholding a story set forth in action—this may have been dormant during the long centuries, or it may have found some means of gratifying itself unrecorded in the correspondence of the time or by the chroniclers. Acrobats there were, and wandering minstrels; and now and again we catch glimpses of singers of comic songs and of roving amusers who entertained with feats of sleight of hand or who exhibited trained animals. These performers, always popular with the public at large, were also called in upon occasion to enliven the solid feasts of the rulers. Gibbon records that at the supper table of Theodoric, in the middle of the fifth century, buffoons and pantomimists were “sometimes introduced to divert, not to offend, the company by their ridiculous wit.” And Froissart records that when he was a guest at the court of Gaston Phébus, toward the end of the fourteenth century, strolling jesters presented a little play during the repast. The entertainments described by Gibbon and by Froissart, however long the interval between them, bear an obvious likeness to our latter-day “vaudeville suppers.”

But none the less, dramatic literature, which had flourished so gloriously in Greece and which had tried to establish itself in Italy, was dead at last, and even the memory of it seems to have departed, for in so far as the works of the Attic tragedians and of the Roman comedians were known at all, they were thought of rather as poetry to be read than as plays that had been acted. The art of acting was a lost art, and the theaters themselves fell into ruin. So it was that when the prejudice against the drama wore itself out in time, and when the inherent demand for the pleasure which only the theater can give became at last insistent,

there was to be seen the spontaneous evolution of a new form, fitted specially to satisfy the needs of the people under the new circumstances. And this new drama of the Middle Ages sprang into being wholly uninfluenced by the drama of the Greeks; it was, indeed, as free a growth as the Greek drama itself had been.

In its origin again, the mediæval drama was not unlike the drama of the Greeks—in that the germ of it was religious and that it was slovenly elaborated from what was at first only an episode of public worship. The new form had its birth actually at the base of the altar and at the foot of the pulpit; and it was fostered by the Christian church, the very organization that had cursed the old form when that was decadent and corrupted. Coming into being as an illustrative incident of the service on certain special days of the ecclesiastical year, the drama grew sturdily within the walls of the church until it was strong enough to support itself; and when at last it ventured outside it remained for a long while religious in intent. The history of its development is very much the same throughout Europe; and the religious drama of England is very like that of France—from which, indeed, it is in some measure derived, just as the religious drama of Italy is like that of Spain, although neither had any appreciable influence on the other.

The reason for this uniformity is obvious enough. It was due to the double unity of the mediæval world—the unity which resulted from possession of the same religion and that which was caused by the consciousness of a former union under the rule of Rome. All the peoples of western Europe had inherited the same laws and the same traditions, because they had all been included in the Roman empire which had stretched itself from the Black Sea to the Atlantic. When at last the vigor of the Roman government was relaxed, the barbarians of the North had broken in and had passed through southern Europe into Africa and into Asia. The Franks had taken Gaul for their own, the Goths had repopulated Italy, and the Vandals had swept through Spain; and as they had then all accepted Christianity, the most distant lands had once more come under the sway of Rome.

This is why it is that we find in the Middle Ages a unity of

western and southern Europe, closer than ever before or ever since. Just before the Renaissance, the peoples of all these varied stocks, however much they might differ individually, were bound together by the common use of the Latin language and by the common dominion of the Roman law; they held the same beliefs and they yielded to the same superstitions; they revered the same ideals, they acted on the same theories, and they had very much the same habits. As yet the idea of nationality had not been born; and the solidarity of those who spoke each of the modern languages had not been suggested. Europe was a unit, because, although it was segregated with towns and even with small provinces, these had not yet been compacted into distinct nations. Towns and provinces and kingdoms were all in accord in accepting the supremacy of the pontiff of Rome and in yielding a doubtful allegiance to the head of the shadowy monarchy which was still called the Holy Roman Empire.

To declare with certainty just where it was that the new drama first gave sign of life is quite impossible; and it is equally impossible to decide whether it sprang up of its own accord in half a dozen different places, or whether the first tempting suggestion of it was carried abroad from the church of its origin for adoption in churches widely scattered. There was far more migration in the Middle Ages than is admitted by those who consider them merely as a long period of stagnation. Priests were continually passing from one city to another a thousand miles distant; and as the most of Europe was included in the Holy Roman Empire, and as it acknowledged also the sway of the Roman pope, men could remove from the east to the west and from the south to the north with no feeling that they were relinquishing their nationality, especially as they could make themselves understood everywhere in the same tongue.

Latin was the language of the church and of its liturgy; and it is out of the Latin liturgy of the Christian church that the drama of the modern European languages has been slowly developed. It is not possible to trace all the steps by which a very brief semi-dramatic adjunct of the service of certain special days of the ecclesiastical year was slowly elaborated into a more or less

complete dramatic scene, or the steps by which these several scenes were in time detached from the liturgy and combined together in a cycle which presented the chief events of the gospel-story. But it is practicable to prove that there was a steady growth, beginning with a single brief scene acted, within the church, by the priests, in Latin, and almost as part of the liturgy, and developing in the course of time into a sequence of scenes, acted by laymen, outside the church, in the vernacular, and wholly disconnected from the service.

The Christian church had so arranged its calendar that every one of the chief events in the career of Jesus was regularly commemorated in the course of the year. Its liturgy was rich in symbolism; and as the ritual was not everywhere uniform, opportunities were frequent for suggestive variations devised by devout priests who were diligently seeking the means by which they could best bring home to a very ignorant congregation the central truths of religion. In many churches, for example, the crucifix was removed from the altar on Good Friday and borne to a receptacle supposed to represent the sepulcher, whence it was taken on Easter morning to be restored solemnly to the altar in testimony of the resurrection.

The gospel-story is rarely pure narrative; as it is to be expected in the accounts of eyewitnesses, it abounds in the give-and-take of actual dialogue. And where a dramatic passage was included in the service, nothing was easier or more natural than to let the narrative be read by the officiating priest, while assigning the actual dialogue to other priests, each of whom should deliver the speeches of a single character. Thus on Easter morning in the colloquy between Peter and John, and the three Maries, when the apostles asked what had been seen at the sepulcher, each of the three Maries could answer in turn. In time this interchange of dialogue would lead to an elaboration of the action; and we have preserved a Latin manuscript in which the scene at the sepulcher was presented both in action and in dialogue. In this interpolation into the Easter service, three Maries, Peter and John, and "one in the likeness of a gardener," all impersonated by priests or choir boys, spoke the

words set down for them in the sacred text and did whatever is there recorded of them.

Although scenes of this sort seem to have been first invented to embellish the Easter services, Christmas was soon discovered to offer an equal opportunity. For example, one of the very earliest of these enlargements of the ritual showed the quest of the shepherds. Certain priests holding crooks in their hands stood in the transept, and a chorister from a gallery above announced to them the glad tidings of the birth of Christ, the Savior of men. Then, while other choristers, scattered throughout the galleries, sang "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and good will to men," the Shepherds advanced to the choir and halted at length before a manger which had been arranged near the altar and by the side of an image of the Virgin Mary. There two other priests, personating women who had aided the Virgin-mother, asked the Shepherds what it was they were seeking, and then displayed the infant Jesus to them. The Shepherds, after adoring the newborn Babe and its Mother, departed singing, "For unto us a child is born," which is the beginning of the high mass regularly celebrated at Christmas.

More elaborate is a liturgical embellishment dealing with the Three Kings, the Three Wise Men of the East, which called for a greater variety of characters and for a more obvious effort to indicate the different localities where the several portions of the gospel-story were supposed to take place. The huge churches which had begun to spring up all over Europe in the century following the fateful year 1000 were not incumbered with pews, as our smaller modern edifices; and their free floor space would contain multitudes of spectators, even though lanes were kept open through the throng connecting the altar and the various doors. Within the chancel was the manger with an image of the Virgin-mother, and two priests stood there personating Women who had been assisting Mary. In a pulpit or in a gallery was the chorister who was to sing the message of the Angel. On a platform not far distant was a throne on which Herod sat surrounded by the members of his court; all of these characters being assumed by officials of the church. The Angel, the two

Women by the manger, and Herod and his Courtiers, were each in their several stations in the church before the play began; and they were supposed not to be able to see each other—indeed, they were supposed not even to be present until it should be the turn of each to enter into the action.

First the Shepherds came into the church by one of the doors, and passing through the ranks of the spectators they advanced toward the choir, where the Angel hailed them with the glad tidings, whereupon they went to the manger and adored the Holy Babe; and at last, after singing, they stood apart. Then through another door, on the eastern side of the church, entered the Three Kings; and when they had come to the middle of the edifice a star began to guide them to the manger—this star being a light pulled along a wire. Herod, silent on his throne all this time, had been supposed not to see the Shepherds; but the Kings he did see; and so he sent a Messenger to ask who they were. The Messenger questioned them at length and finally bore back to Herod the dread news that the King of Kings had been born and that the Three Wise Men of the East were being guided to his cradle by the star above their heads. Herod then consulted the Scribes, who proceeded to search the Scriptures and to inform him that the promised Redeemer should be born in Bethlehem. Herod raged violently at these ill-tidings and knocked the books from the hands of the Scribes; but, pacified by his son, he bade the Three Wise Men follow the star and find the newborn King, commanding them on their return to let him know where the royal infant lay. Herod and all his courtiers then became silent again, and ceased to take part in the play until they should be once more needed. The Three Kings, bearing their gifts and led by the star, advanced toward the altar and met the Shepherds, who now came into action again. The Shepherds were singing a hymn of praise, and the Three Kings asked them what they had seen. The Shepherds, after declaring that they had beheld the Holy Child lying in a manger, withdrew; and the Three Kings followed the star to the altar, where the two Women asked them who they were and what they were seeking. The Three Wise Men revealed the object of their journeying; and the Babe was

displayed to them. They adored it, and they presented their gifts of gold and frankincense and myrrh. The Angel in the pulpit or gallery above them broke in, declaring to them that the prophecies were fulfilled and bidding the Three Kings go home by another way. Thereupon the Wise Men, chanting a hymn of praise, passed through the assembled multitude and left the church by another door. Herod was supposed not to see them take their leave, but just as soon as they were gone, the Messenger informed the monarch that they had departed in disobedience; thereupon Herod drew his sword and gave it to a Soldier, bidding him go forth and slay all the children.

Here the play seems to end, although as we have also the MS of a representation of the Flight into Egypt and of the Slaughter of the Innocents, it is probable that in some churches on some occasions all the various incidents connected with the Nativity were set forth in action one after the other. What is most important for us to seize and to fix in our memories is that these episodes of the gospel-story—the Scene of the Shepherds, the Adoration of the Wise Men, the Wrath of Herod, the Slaughter of the Innocents—came into existence each by itself, having been put into dramatic form as a more vivid and impressive illustration of the liturgy; and that probably a long while elapsed before anyone thought to combine these scattered scenes into a sequence. But after the cycle of the Nativity had knit together, following or preceding a similar cycle of the separate scenes of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, it would probably not be very long before an attempt was made to link the two cycles together, filling out the gaps by dramatizing the more salient of the intervening episodes of the gospel-story—the Raising of Lazarus, for instance, and the Driving of the Money-Changers from the Temple. Thus the whole story of the life and death and resurrection of Christ could be presented in dialogue in the church by the priests themselves, in Latin, and as part of the service, for the enlightenment of the ignorant population in those dark ages.

Although the priests who put it together had not given a thought to this aspect of it, the story of Christ is truly dramatic,

not only in its humanity, in its color, in its variety, in its infinite pathos, but also and chiefly in its full possession of the prime essential of a true drama—in its having at the heart of it a struggle, an exhibition of determination, a clash of contending desires. Indeed, it is the most dramatic of all struggles, for it is the perpetual conflict of good and evil. To us moderns the issue is sharply joined; but in the mediæval church it was even more obvious, since in the Middle Ages no one ever doubted that a personal devil was forever striving to thwart the will of a personal God. In the mystery, which showed in action all the leading events of the life of Christ, both of the contestants were set boldly before the spectators—God himself high in heaven and the devil escaping from hell-mouth to work his evil will among mankind.

When all these little scenes, each of them devised originally for the special day of the church calendar when the event was commemorated, had been combined into a New Testament cycle, and when there were prefixed to it certain episodes dramatized from the Old Testament also, and selected because they seemed to prefigure the gospel-story—when the mystery was thus grown to its full length and swollen huge, it was found to be too unwieldy for presentation in the church itself and too burdensome for the clergy to perform. Thrust out of the church, it may have lingered for a while in the church-yard or in the cloisters or in the great square before the sacred edifice. As the successive episodes of the gospel-story had ceased from their intimate connection with the actual liturgy, the tendency was increased to substitute for the Latin of the priests the language of the people; and this pressure became irresistible when the ecclesiastics gave up to laymen the acting of the parts. The performance of a mystery with due regard to the dignity of the theme was an undertaking of not a little magnitude, requiring both capital and executive ability. The preparation of the text, the adjusting of the music, the making ready of the costumes, the training of the actors—these things were possible only to an organization of a certain stability; and at first the church was the only body having at once the desire and the resources to execute so onerous a task.

But when the guilds arose in time, and when burghers banded together and craftsmen combined, it became possible for the church to relinquish the control of the mysteries to lay organizations. And thus it was that the passion-play, originally acted by priests, within the church, in Latin, and as part of the liturgy, came to be performed by laymen, outside of the church, in the vernacular, and without any connection with the service.

But although the evolution of the mystery from the liturgy is obvious, we find in the passion-play, when it was presented in the language of the people by the craftsmen and the burghers, one element which is not of ecclesiastical origin—we find the element of humor, of joyous gaiety, of vivacious realism, and, indeed, often of reckless vulgarity. Even before it was wholly independent of the church, the new drama had felt the influence of popular taste, and it had taken over more than one of the accepted devices of the primitive comic plays, such as the strolling buffoons were wont to perform. The crude farces of these wandering minstrels may have been mere dramatized anecdotes, practical jokes in dialogue, pantomimic horse-play of an elementary type; they were wholly unliterary, and, being often even unwritten, they have rarely been preserved. Yet it is perfectly possible that this mediæval farce, with its robust fun and its frankness of speech, is the direct descendant of the rude humor of the Latin rustics, serving unobserved and neglected through all the centuries of the Dark Ages and serving humbly to satisfy in some measure the perpetual human desire for a story told in action. When at last the serious play had been developed out of the services of the church, this folk-drama was ready to supply the comic element without which any representation of life must needs be one-sided.

Fortunately chance has saved for our enlightenment not a few of the later specimens of this folk-play; and we can see that it was generally as unliterary and as inartistic as one might expect, and that it assumed a great variety of forms. It might be merely a burlesque sermon satirizing the clergy or the civil authorities; it might be a monologue in which, for example, a boastful character unwillingly admitted his own unworthiness; it

might be little more than a comic song with a telling refrain and with illustrative gestures; it might be a dialogue of cut-and-thrust repartee not unlike the pungent talk interchanged by the ringmaster and the clown in the modern circus; it might even be a lively little play with a simple ingenuity of situation, presenting a scene of everyday life with an abundance of pertinent details.

Such, for example, is the French farce of the *Tub*, with its three characters of the Husband, the Wife, and the Mother-in-Law. The Husband is henpecked; and the Wife, aided by the Mother-in-Law, has even gone so far as to draw up an agreement for the Husband to sign in which he has bound himself to do all the work of the household, and in which his several duties are specified, item by item. Then, as it happens, the Wife falls into the tub in which they have been washing the clothes, and she cries to the Husband to help her out. He consults the agreement, and then refuses to assist her, as that is not set down in the writing. The Wife insists; and the Husband protests that he is willing to do all that he has agreed to do—but nothing more. The Mother-in-Law intervenes, but she cannot extricate the Wife without the Husband's help; and he refers her to the document. He is ready to bake and to boil and to get up early to make the fire, as he had promised to do, but as for pulling the Wife out of the tub, that is not his duty, since it is not down in the bond. The Wife and the Mother-in-Law scold and threaten at first, but at last they appeal. The Husband suggests that if he is to do more than he has bound himself to do in writing, then the agreement is really useless; and he proposes that it shall be torn up before he rescues the Wife. As her danger is now pressing, the two women agree to this, the bond is rent in twain, the Husband extricates the Wife from the tub; and the household is once more upon a peace footing. Yet the Husband, warned by experience, remarks to the spectators that he wonders how long it will last.

This little farce of the *Tub* is French, but it has its analogues in the other modern languages. It is not unlike an equally elementary presentation of domestic altercation in Spanish, the *Olive Tree* of Lope de Rueda. And it has even a certain likeness to

the dispute between Noah and his Wife in an English mystery — a very amusing scene, indeed, in which the spouse of the patriarch refuses to enter the ark unless she can bring her friends with her, and in which, when she is taken on board by force, she gives her venerable husband a sound box on the ear.

French also is the farce of *Master Peter Patelin*, by far the most artistic of all the mediæval comic plays. Patelin is a swindling lawyer who is in the depths of poverty. He goes to a Draper and wheedles him out of six yards of woollen cloth; and when the Draper comes to him for payment, Patelin is in bed, and his Wife protests that he has not been out of the house for weeks. The Draper is almost persuaded that he is the victim of hallucination, and he returns to his shop to see if he has truly lost the cloth. Finding that it is really gone, he rushes again to Patelin's lodging, whereupon the Lawyer pretends to be mad, and overwhelms the unfortunate tradesman with a flood of words, first in one of the French dialects, and then in those of another, until at last the Draper withdraws, half-believing that it is the devil who has played a trick on him. Then there comes to Patelin the Shepherd of the Draper, whom his master is suing for having stolen some sheep; and the Shepherd engages the lawyer to defend him. Patelin bids the Shepherd to pretend to be foolish and, no matter what question the Judge may put to him, to answer only with the bleat of a lamb, "Baa-a." When the trial comes up before the Judge, Patelin hides himself behind the Shepherd so that the Draper shall not see him. But when the shopkeeper does catch sight of the lawyer, he instantly demands payment for his cloth, to the complete astonishment of the Judge who had supposed that he was trying the Shepherd for sheep-stealing. The Draper gets confused also and accuses the Shepherd of stealing the cloth and the lawyer of taking the sheep. The puzzled Judge questions the Shepherd who answers no word but "Baa-a;" and Patelin adroitly pleads that the poor fellow is plainly an idiot. The Draper continues to insist on payment for his cloth, although the Judge in vain begs him to come back to his sheep. In the end the magistrate has to acquit the Shepherd for lack of evidence against him. Then the wretched

Draper asks Patelin if he is not the lawyer the shopkeeper saw in bed only a few minutes before; and Patelin daringly bids him go to the house and see for himself. When the tortured tradesman has departed, Patelin turns to the Shepherd and demands his fee for getting the man off from the charge against him. And now are the tables turned; the biter is bit, and the swindler is swindled; for the Shepherd simply answers "Baa-a!" The play comes to an end swiftly with the discomfited Patelin trying vainly to catch his deceitful client.

Master Peter Patelin is a French farce, to be acted by itself whenever a company of strollers happened to have five performers; but it is curiously like one of the Nativity scenes in an English mystery. When the Shepherds are watching their flocks by night, a neighbor joins them, one Mak, a man of evil repute. To keep him under guard the Shepherds make Mak lie down between them, when they go to sleep. But the precaution is unavailing, as Mak gets up and steals a lamb and takes it to his Wife, and then returns to his place. When the Shepherds wake, there is Mak between them, but a lamb is missing. Mak is suspected at once, and the Shepherds go to his house to seek it, where Mak's Wife has the lamb swaddled in a cradle like a babe. The Shepherds search everywhere and find nothing, until one of them goes to the cradle and remarks that the babe has a long snout. When the lamb is discovered, Mak's Wife promptly pretends that it is a changeling just left by an elf. The Shepherds, after punishing Mak by tossing him in a blanket, return to their flock; and almost immediately the Angel above sings to them the glad tidings of Christmas morn. Here is a comic action, complete in itself and quite detachable from the mystery, with which indeed it has no necessary connection. Perhaps it is even older than the mystery, and was inserted into the text of that to supply what is known nowadays as "comic relief"—just as the farce of the *Tub* might have been incorporated into a passion-play without any protest from the public.

Both in French and in English the comic scenes of the mysteries were often wholly irrelevant in theme and absolutely incongruous in treatment. No reverence for the sacred subject prevented the

mediæval audience from enjoying a joke or made it very particular as to the quality of the fun it laughed at. Just as we moderns are surprised by the grinning gargoyles and by the satiric carvings of the mighty cathedrals, so in the mediæval drama we are often taken aback by the bold vulgarity of the comic scenes. Although the mediæval writers had not found out that brevity is the soul of wit, they often acted on the belief that breadth is the body of humor. The authors were plain of speech, and the audiences were never squeamish; and as we study what was to be seen on the stage, then we are reminded of Taine's remark that in the Middle Ages man lived on a dunghill. It must be noted that the farces are more reprehensible than the comic scenes of the mysteries; and yet the grossest of farces might be performed sometimes as the prelude to a miracle-play—as the *Miller* preceded a very devout dramatization of the legends of St. Martin. This low humor is indecorous rather than demoralizing; it shocks our sense of propriety sometimes; but it is never insidious or seductive. It was intended for the entertainment of the populace, which may be vulgar at times, but which is very rarely vicious.

The change from the Latin language to the speech of the people, the transfer of the control from the clergy to the laity, the removal from the inside of the church to the outside, were all made gradually and tentatively and with no intent to bring about any radical transformation. When the laymen took charge, they desired to do just what the priests had done, no more and no less; and if we seek to understand the circumstances of the performance outside of the church, we must recall what were the conditions originally inside the sacred edifice. In the cycle of the Nativity we saw that the manger was set up near the altar, and that not far distant there was erected a throne for Herod. Each of these places was known as a "station;" and the action of the play went on not only at the one or the other of the stations, but also in other parts of the church, extending now and again even to the doors. The Easter cycle would also require several stations, at least three—one with a throne for Pilate, another with the cross, a third with the open grave. The acting of the play was carried on chiefly in the open space between the several

stations and in front, the character belonging to each of these remaining there, silent and motionless, until the time came for them to enter with the story. Then they might leave the station for a while, and go out into the open space, only to return to their own places as soon as the progress of the plot called for the characters of some other station.

When the Christmas cycle and the Easter cycle were combined together, and when the few intermediate scenes were also cast into dialogue, so that the whole of Christ's earthly life might be shown, from his birth to his resurrection, then the nave of the church would be inconveniently crowded with the stations requisite for the whole gospel-story, and there would be left between them and in front an inadequate area for what might be termed the neutral ground, the open space for the acting of the many scenes which did not call for a special station—such, for instance, as the Entry into Jerusalem or the Betrayal at Gethsemane. Those who began to act out the sacred story in the church had no thought of scenery—which, indeed, was a thing to them not only unknown, but wholly inconceivable. They were seeking to show what had happened on the very day they were commemorating. Even when the incidents had cohered into a sequence, it was the action itself that was all-important; and the place where it came to pass was without significance except when it needed to be specified. So the most of the acting was ever in the more open space in the center, and stations were utilized only when they were really necessary. Probably, as the mysteries increased in length, the number of necessary stations became cumbersome; and only in the larger cathedrals would it be possible to avoid an awkward cluttering within the chancel. Quite possibly this multiplication of the stations was an added reason for removing the performance of the mysteries outside the church.

When this removal did take place and the mysteries were presented in the open air, what the laymen who took charge of them would undoubtedly seek to do would be to preserve religiously such traditions as had been established in the course of the performances given by the clergy. These laymen would therefore avail themselves of the device of the stations, modifying

these as might be required by the new conditions of the performance. In England this modification came in time to be somewhat different from that obtaining in France; but as the English mystery, like the architecture of the English churches, is derived directly from French models, the French form demands attention first, the more so as elsewhere on the continent there is a closer resemblance to French usage than to English.

In France, then, a mystery would be acted upon a platform put up in some public place, often in the open square in front of the cathedral. To provide reserved seats for the dignitaries of the church, the officials of the city, and the distinguished strangers invited to attend, grand-stands would be erected along the side and at the back, the central area being left free for the populace who were always eager to crowd in, while the gaily draped windows of the surrounding houses would be available as private boxes. The platform which was to serve as a stage was perhaps a hundred and fifty feet long and some fifty or sixty feet deep. The front part was generally free and clear so that the actors could move to and fro, while at the back were ranged the stations — which in France came soon to be known as “mansions.” At the extreme left of the spectators, and raised high on pillars, was heaven, wherein God sat, often with a gilded face, the better to suggest the shining glory of his countenance. At the extreme right of the spectators was hell-mouth, the fiery cavern where the devil and all his imps had their abode. Then stretching from heaven to hell-mouth was the line of mansions, those earliest in use being on the left. A wall, pierced by a door, might indicate Nazareth; then an altar covered by a canopy and protected by a balustrade would suggest the temple, while a second wall with its gate could serve to call up the idea of Jerusalem itself. In the center there might be a more elaborate construction with columns and a throne, intended for the palace of Pontius Pilate. A third wall with two doors might be made to serve as the house of the high-priest and as the Golden Gate; while in front of this and not far from hell-mouth there might be a tank of real water, with a little boat floating on it, so as to simulate the Lake of Tiberias.

These are the mansions that are depicted in a miniature on the manuscript of a mystery acted in Valenciennes in the middle of the sixteenth century. In other places and at other times there might be more or there might be less, for there was never any uniformity of custom; and even here we see that many of the most important episodes of the gospel narrative must have been performed on the front of the platform and wholly unrelated to any of the mansions ranged at the back. The mansions were employed only when certain portions of the sacred story could be made clearer by their use or more striking; and even when they were set up, however elaborate their decoration, it was never in any way deceptive. The mansions were not intended actually to represent the special place; the most they were expected to do was to suggest it, so that a few columns would indicate a palace or a temple, and so that a wall and a door sufficed to evoke the idea of a city. The most of the acting was always in the neutral ground nearest the spectators.

Thus we see that in France the stations used inside the church were set up side by side on the open-air stage outside of the church, where they were known as mansions. In England the stations were separated and each was shown by itself, being called a "pageant." Sometimes these were stationary, and sometimes they were ambulatory; and in the latter case, which seems to have been the more frequent, the pageant was apparently not unlike the elaborately decorated floats, familiar in modern parades such as that of Mardi Gras in New Orleans. In Great Britain, Corpus Christi day was early chosen as the festival most fit for the performances of the mysteries; and the pageants followed in the wake of the Corpus Christi procession through the town. The first pageant with its suggestion of scenery and its own group of performers would draw up before the church door, as the end of the procession emerged therefrom; and the first episode of the play would then be represented there, sometimes on the broad platform of the wagon, but often in the street itself—just as the most of the acting in the French mysteries took place less in the mansions themselves than in the neutral ground on the front of the stage. One stage direction in an English manuscript

is curiously significant: "Here Herod shall rage on the pageant and in the street."

When the first episode had been played out, the second pageant appeared, and the first pageant was dragged away along the line of march of the Corpus Christi procession to another appointed spot, where the first episode was acted again, while the performers attached to the second pageant were presenting the second episode before the doors of the church. Then a third pageant would take the place of the second, and its actors would there represent the third episode; while the second pageant substituted itself for the first and again performed the second episode before the second group of spectators—the first pageant having advanced to a third selected site to perform for the third time the first episode of the sacred story. And so in the course of the long summer day the spectator, no matter at which of the chosen spots he might chance to stand, saw all the successive incidents of the mystery represented before him, partly on the floats with their elementary attempts to suggest the actual scenery of the place where the action was supposed to be passing, and partly in the open street in the space that was kept clear for the actors. For certain of the episodes, such as the Trial of Christ, for example, two floats were required, and the performers passed from one to the other as the incidents of the narrative might require. Of course, the spectator who was standing in front of the church door saw the end of the play long before his brother, who had taken up his position near one of the remoter spots at which the pageants were to halt. It might even be possible for a man to see a second time an episode which had taken his fancy.

This use of ambulatory pageants seems to have obtained chiefly in the English towns, while in the rural districts the pageants were not decorated wagons, but platforms set up along the route of the Corpus Christi procession. There was a stage for each of the important episodes of the play—thus recalling the original stations devised for the performance when it took place inside of the church. The spectators following the procession would halt in front of the first platform and witness the acting of the first episode; and when that was concluded they

would pass along to the second platform to behold the second episode; and so on until they had seen the entire mystery. The English were thus setting up separately the stations, which the French had preferred to put side by side upon one very long platform. But these variations of custom between the French and the English are external only, and of no immediate importance—although they account in part for the greater divergence to be observed in the development of the later dramatic literatures of the two languages.

Essentially the mystery is the same, wherever it is acted and in whatever language, French or English, German or Italian. It is the same in its long-windedness and in its loose-jointedness, in its homely directness of speech alternating with turgid bombast, in its occasional touches of genuine feeling and of unrestrained pathos, in the introduction of humorous scenes, in the frank realism of the dialogue, in the simple faith of those who wrote it, of those who acted it, and of those who beheld its performance. A play is ever conditioned by the circumstances of its creation, by the theater in which it is to be presented, by the actors who are to perform it, and by the audience for whom it is intended. Of these three conditions the influence of the audience is always the most potent; and the mediæval spectators for whose edification the mystery was devised were unlearned and without culture; they were ignorant and even gross; they had no tincture of letters; they were credulous and superstitious and wonder-loving; they were at once devout and irreverent—or so they seem to us; they had a liking for broad fun and for a robust realism of treatment; they were shocked by no vulgarity and they resented no incongruity, for they were wholly devoid of the historic sense (as we moderns call it).

Although the English mysteries were of Anglo-Norman origin and follow the French tradition in the main, yet the bond of unity was broken when Latin was abandoned for the vernacular; and there are other differences between the performances in French and those in English besides the modification of the station into the mansion in the one country and into the pageant in the other. In England, the entire mystery—shortened now and again by

the occasional omission of one episode or another—seems to have been presented in a single day, the performance beginning as early as four in the morning. In France the performance was more likely to continue over several successive days, very much as the Wagnerian cycle is now given in Bayreuth—although it may be doubted whether any modern audience would have the patience of the mediæval spectators of Bourges who in the middle of the sixteenth century were entertained by a mystery of the Acts of the Apostles, the performance of which took forty days.

In England, as we have seen, the pageants followed the religious procession, whereas in France, where the mansions were immovable on a single platform, it was not unusual for the whole troop of performers to make a street parade before the acting began, quite in the manner of the modern circus. In France again, when the church gave up the control of the mysteries, they were turned over to lay organizations of burghers, founded especially to perform the sacred plays, whereas in England this task was assumed by the guilds, each of which undertook the episode which its craftsmanship best fitted it to carry out, the Carpenters, for instance, being responsible for Noah's Ark, and the Goldsmiths being held liable for the Three Kings, because they could best provide the royal diadems.

Further differences there are also between the mysteries as performed in France or in England and the "sacred representations" of the Italians; and again between the dramatizations of the Scriptures as acted in Germany and those to be seen in Spain. But these differences are matters of detail merely; and the line of development was everywhere the same throughout those parts of Europe that had been ruled by Rome. Everywhere also was the performance of a mystery considered as a good deed, as an act pleasing to heaven and certain to win favor from the Deity and from the saints. And therefore such performances were often given in a season of pestilence to placate the wrath of God or to deserve the protection of some particular Saint. Such a performance took place in Constantinople, within St. Sophia itself, just before the capture of the capital of the Western Empire by the Turks. And mysteries were also performed in certain towns

after an escape from impending danger and as a testimony of gratitude to heaven for its intervention; and it is to this sentiment that we owe the passion-play which is still to be seen every tenth summer at Ober-Ammergau.

The majority of the mysteries preserved to us in manuscript are anonymous, and we do not know who wrote them, or even the exact date when they were written. Most of the authors are to be considered rather as compilers, lacking individuality; they were satisfied to accept the play as they found it, modifying the framework very little after it had once been constructed and satisfying themselves with adding or subtracting episodes at will. Each of them freely availed himself of the labors of his predecessors with which he chanced to be familiar. Sometimes he rewrote what he borrowed and sometimes he copied it slavishly, careless of any diversity of diction. So there is not often harmony of style in any single mystery; and there is an immense monotony when a number of them are compared together.

Very closely allied to the mystery was the miracle-play, which may have come into being even before the Easter cycle had elaborated itself into a passion-play. A sequence of episodes taken from Holy Writ we now call a mystery; and what we now call a miracle-play is a sequence of episodes taken from the life of some wonder-working saint. In England the mystery was much the more frequent; but in France the miracle-play was perhaps the more popular, as it was probably almost as ancient. Indeed, in the Middle Ages no one seems ever to have made any distinction between the two kinds of play; as the mediæval mind was not trained to discriminate between the canonical books and the apocrypha, or even between the Scriptures and the legends of the saints. In miracle-play as in mystery, we find the same naïve treatment of life, the same straggling construction of the story, the same admixture of comic incidents, and the same apparent irreverence; and the circumstances of the performance would be the same also.

The Middle Ages had an appetite for allegory quite as vigorous as the liking for legend; and after the saintly legends had been set on the stage as miracle-plays, allegory was also cast into

dialogue, and we have the moral-plays. The "morality" was a mediæval forerunner of our modern novel-with-a-purpose, as unconvincingly didactic as it is inevitably dull. The morality may even be defined as an attempt to dramatize a sermon, whereas the mystery is simply a dramatization of the text. Written to be presented before an audience used to the primitive methods of the passion-play, the authors make free use of the device of the stations, for instance. In one morality, the *Castle of Perseverance*, there were six stations; one was a castellated structure open below to reveal a bed for the chief character, who personified the Human Race; and the other five stations were disposed around this loftier stage, one in the east for God, one in the northeast for Greed, one in the west for the World, one in the south for the Flesh, and one in the north for the Devil. The hero of this string of argumentative conversations, Human Race, appears at first as a child, and the Angels of Good and of Evil come to him. The Evil Angel tempts him off to the World; and later as a young man he is introduced to the Seven Deadly Sins. In time Repentance leads him to confession; and as a man of forty we see him in the Castle of Perseverance surrounded by the Seven Most Excellent Virtues. Thereupon the Castle itself is besieged by the three evil powers and the Seven Deadly Sins and their allies. Then at last as an old man Human Race backslides again and the Evil Angel is bearing him away, when a formal trial takes place before God, Justice and Truth accusing him, while he is defended by Mercy and Peace.

The morality was an attempt to depict character, but with the aid of the primary colors only, and with an easy juxtaposition of light and darkness. Yet it helped along the development of the drama, in that it permitted a freer handling of the action, since the writer of moralities had always to invent his plots, whereas the maker of mysteries had his stories ready-made to his hand: the morality was frankly fiction, while the miracle-play gave itself out for fact. Then also the tendency seems irresistible, for any author who has an appreciation of human nature, to go speedily from the abstract to the concrete, and to substitute for the cold figure of Pride itself the fiery portrait of an actual man who is

proud. Mere allegory, barren and chill, is swiftly warmed into social satire, tingling with individuality; and so we have here before us the germ out of which a living comedy was to be evolved. It is to be noted that when the morality had achieved a certain freedom for itself in plot and in character, it exerted a healthy influence upon the contemporary mystery and miracle play.

Indeed, the mediæval mind did not distinguish the three kinds of drama sharply, and we find them commingled in more than one example—notably in the English *Mary Magdalene*. We discover the same confusion of species in all uncritical periods, when production is spontaneous and unconscious. In method the mystery and the miracle-play are alike; and by what certain mark can we set off the morality from the interlude in English or the monologue from the burlesque-sermon in French? The more elevated the effort, the more likely was an admixture of the grotesque. Immediately before or after the loftiest moments of a tragic theme, the nimble devils would come capering forth to make the spectator shriek with laughter at their buffoonery as they bore away some evil-doer to be cast into hell-mouth. Popular as these plays were, it is only in a chance episode that any one of them really rises to the level of literature. The drama is perhaps the most democratic of all the arts, since its very existence depends on the multitude; and it is therefore likely always to represent the average intelligence of any era. The long period known as the Middle Ages, whatever its literary unattractiveness, brought about a new birth of the acted drama. It aroused in the people the desire for the pleasure which only the theater can give; and it began to train actors against the time when acting should again become a profession.

In considering the deficiencies of the mediæval drama it must never be forgotten that the actors were all amateurs—priests at first, and then burghers, craftsmen, students, clerks. They might be paid for their services, or they might choose to perform as a labor of love; but acting was not their calling, and their opportunities for improving themselves in the art were infrequent. The accomplished actor stimulates the dramatist; and the playwright is ever developing the performer; each is necessary to the

other; and in the Middle Ages we find neither. And yet slowly the traditions of the theater were getting themselves established; there was acting, such as it was; there were plays, such as they were, straggling in structure, not so much dramas as mere panoramas of successive episodes; there were audiences, rude and gross no doubt, but composed of human beings, after all, and therefore ever ready to be entranced and thrilled by the art of the master-craftsman. But in the mediæval drama we seek in vain for a master-craftsman; he is not to be found in France or in England, in Spain, in Italy, or in Germany. The elements of a vital drama were all there, ready to the hand of a true dramatist who would know how to make use of them; they were awaiting the grasp of a poet-playwright who should be able to present, with technical skill and with imaginative insight, the perpetual struggle of good and evil, of God and the devil.

But in all mediæval literature there is no born playwright, and there is no born poet who wrought in dialogue and action. The one indestructible work of art which gives utterance to the intentions of the Middle Ages, to the ideals of that dark time, and to its aspirations, was not made to be represented within the church or out of it, either by priests or by laymen, even though it bore the name of the *Divine Comedy*.

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE.—Whatever novelty there may seem to be in any of the opinions set forth above must be ascribed, not to the discovery of new material, but to the writer's effort to interpret facts, already familiar, in closer accord with the essential principles of the art of the theater. French historians of mediæval literature have been more careful than those of other nationalities to bear in mind always that the mysteries and the miracle-plays were intended for performance then rather than for perusal now. Especially to be commended are the monumental labors of the late PETIT DE JULLEVILLE—his *Histoire du théâtre en France: les mystères*, 2 vols. (1880), his *Répertoire du théâtre comique en France du moyen âge* (1886), his *La comédie et les mœurs en France au moyen âge* (1886), and his book on *Les comédiens en France au moyen âge* (1889). To be noted also are three other books in the French language: MARIUS SEPET, *Le drame chrétien au moyen âge* (1878); EMILE ROY, *Études sur le théâtre français au XIV^{me} et au XV^{me} siècle* (1902); and the "Études sur le théâtre comique français du moyen âge," which was printed in the *Studj di Filologia Romanza*, fasc. 25 (1902). Among the English essays must be mentioned the introductions to MISS L. TOULMIN SMITH's *York Mystery Plays* (1885) and to A. W. POLLARD's *English Miracle Plays* (1890). But more suggestive than either of these British works is an American dissertation: CHARLES DAVIDSON's *Studies in the English Miracle Plays* (1892).

WELSH TRADITIONS IN LAYAMON'S "BRUT."

MOST careful students of the metrical chronicle written by the English priest Layamon, son of Leovenath, agree that it embodies here and there bits of Welsh tradition which its author, who dwelt near the border of Wales, either heard directly from his Welsh-speaking neighbors or got at second-hand from his English parishioners, among whom legends of Welsh origin were doubtless popular. Sir Frederic Madden, the learned editor of Layamon's *Brut*, says:¹ "That Layamon was indebted to Welsh traditions, not recorded in Geoffrey of Monmouth, or in Wace, is scarcely to be questioned." Ten Brink, in his *History of English Literature*,² remarks: "Some of Layamon's interpolations can have been derived from traditions clinging to places not far distant from the poet's home," and Wülker, in another *History of English Literature*, declares:³ "[Layamon] wohnte dicht an der Grenze von Wales und scheint von dort manche Sage gehört zu haben, die er in seiner Dichtung verwertete."

Though professed students of Layamon have agreed that the additions he has made to his French original sometimes contain Welsh traditions, advocates of the theory that the legends of Arthur were developed in Brittany have neglected the English chronicle and have failed to observe its important bearing on the question in dispute. To call attention to the neglected importance of Layamon for the vexed question of the development of the Arthurian legend is the object of the following pages.

Layamon, writing about the year 1205, in the main translated the Norman-French chronicle of Wace, which was written in 1155,⁴ but he expanded its 15,300 lines to 32,250. Part of this great expansion is due to Layamon's love for detailed description

¹ *Layamon's Brut*, London, 1847, Vol. I, p. xvi. MADDEN's text is used throughout this article.

² KENNEDY's translation (1889), Vol. I, p. 190.

³ *Gesch. der englischen Litt.*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 81.

⁴ So MADDEN, *Brut*, Vol. I, pp. xix and xiii.

and comes from his own fancy. I quote, for example, Merlin's splendid prophecy of Arthur's greatness:¹

So long as is eternity he shall never die; while the world standeth his glory shall last; all shall bow to him that dwell in Britain; of him shall gleemen sing; of his breast noble poets shall eat; of his blood shall warriors be drunk; from his eyes shall fly fiery embers; each finger of his hand shall be a sharp steel brand; stone walls shall before him tumble; barons give way and their standards fall;

the account of how the youthful Arthur received the news of his succession to the kingship:²

He sat very still; for a while he was wan and exceeding pale of hue; for a while he was red and was moved at heart;

the ghastly details of the slaughter made by Childric:³

All the good wives they sticked with knives; all the maidens they killed with murder; and all the learned men they laid on burning coals; all the domestics they killed with clubs. They felled the castles; the land they ravaged; the churches they burned down; grief was among the folk; the sucking infants they drowned in the water;

the fantastic description of Loch Lomond:⁴

Nikers dwell there; there is a play of elves in the hideous pool.

Especially noteworthy are Layamon's accounts of hunting and of the sea. His description of a fox hunt⁵ is too long to quote, but observe three splendid lines about the voyage of Cadwalon:⁶

Both were calm; the sea and the sun;
The wind and the wide ocean; both together.
The flood bare the ships; minstrels there sang.

All this is developed from the bald statement in Wace that Cadwalon put his ships to sea.

So clever is Layamon in transforming a brief hint, dropped by Wace, into a vivid picture, that a feeling might arise in one's mind that perhaps Layamon invented *all* his additions to Wace, the more important as well as the mere expansions of his original. To dispel this doubt, one has but to see how closely most of the noteworthy additions made by Layamon are connected with Wales and with Welsh tradition.

¹ Vss. 18848-60.

² Vss. 20061-74.

³ Vss. 20840-70.

⁴ Vss. 19887-91.

⁵ Vss. 21746-8.

⁶ Vss. 30610-15.

Layamon adds to Wace's account of Queen Judon the remark that she was put to death by drowning. Madden has pointed out that this is in agreement with Welsh tradition.¹ Welsh legend has it that Queen Judon was sewed up in a sack and drowned in the Thames. Layamon puts into the mouth of Merlin the explicit prophecy, "Arthur shall come again to the help of the Britons." This is not in Wace, but as Madden has again noted,² is in accord with Welsh tradition. The case is similar with Layamon's change of the name of Arthur's last battlefield from Camblan to Camel-ford.³ Layamon's circumstantial account of the arms and dress of Irish warriors, Madden has shown,⁴ agrees exactly with descriptions given by Giraldus Cambrensis and by Froissart. Evidently Layamon's statements regarding Celtic matters are not spun out of his own fancy.

In an article entitled, "The Round Table before Wace,"⁵ I have called attention to the way in which Layamon sometimes changes Wace's proper names to make them accord with Welsh forms: *Genievre* becomes *Wenhauer* (Welsh *Gwenhwyfar*); *Hoel* becomes *Howel* (Welsh *Howel*); *Holdin* becomes *Howeldin*, as if Layamon were attempting a Welsh etymology for it; *Guenelande* in the "Round Table" passage⁶ becomes *Winet-londe*, showing apparently that Layamon understood it as the name of *Gwynedd* or North Wales; *Hiresgas*, Layamon changes to the sufficiently Celtic looking *Riwaddlan*. Wace's *Cadval*, Layamon changes to *Cadwadlan*. To this list let me add two names, *Gille Callæt*, a Pict,⁷ and *Gille Caor*, a king in Ireland,⁸ which are new in Layamon. They mean respectively "prudent gillie" and "mighty gillie," and seem to have come straight out of Celtic folk-tales.⁹

Layamon always presents the Welsh in a favorable light. A good example occurs at the end of his history. Wace's statement that the Welsh are all changed and degenerated from the

¹ Vs. 4033, and the note, Vol. III, p. 321.

² Vss. 28650, 28651, and the note, Vol. III, p. 412.

³ Vol. III, p. 408.

⁴ Vol. III, p. 366.

⁵ *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Vol. VII (1900), p. 189.

⁶ Vs. 22788.

⁷ Vs. 13564.

⁸ Vs. 10061.

⁹ Cf. *Gilla Decair* (slothful gillie), O'GRADY, *Silva Gadelica*, Vol. I, pp. 257 ff.; *Gille Glas* (gray gillie), CAMPBELL, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, Vol. I, pp. 102 ff., etc.

nobility, the honor, and the manners of their ancestors, he alters to: "The Britons moved to Welshland, and lived in their laws and their popular manners, and yet they dwell there as they shall do evermore."¹

With a presumption of Welsh influence on Layamon established by this mass of cumulative evidence I go on to several new points which, if they can be maintained, make very definite the connection between Layamon and Welsh tradition.

Layamon tells us that Carric, the last Welsh king to rule over any considerable part of what is now England, was derisively called by his Anglo-Saxon enemies *Kinric*. The passages in question are as follows:

Carric took this kingdom and with sorrow dwelt therein; a strong knight was Carric, but he was not prosperous because foreigners destroyed all his nation. This king was a noble British man; derision and contempt men threw on him; they renounced the name of Carric and called him *Kinric*, and yet in many books, men so write his name. People began to abase him, people hated him, and sang contemptuous songs of the odious king. Then began war over all this country; and Saxon men sailed to this land and took their station beyond the Humber and the king began to live in exile wide over this nation; hateful he was to all folk that looked on him.² The Saxon men sent messengers to Carric the king and said that they would make peace with him; they would prefer to obey Carric rather than another.³ And Carric believed all their falsehood and granted them peace. Then was Carric betrayed by their craft. Carric has ever since been called *Kinric*. All with contemptuous words the king they derided. Carric believed the Saxon men's words.⁴ The Saxon men assembled forces innumerable in the land, and marched toward Carric the king of this kingdom; and ever they sang with contempt of *Kinric* the king. Carric gathered his Britons⁵ [he was defeated]. . . . As many of his wretched folk as could fled out of the country. Some went to Wales, some to Cornwall, some to Neustrie that now is called Normandy; some fled beyond sea to Brittany and dwelt afterwards in the land called *Armorica*.⁶

No one has hitherto commented on this incident, or attempted to explain what derisive force there is in the name *Kinric*. Carric, which in Welsh means a rock, is a sufficiently dignified name. I venture to suppose that *Kinric* is an English tran-

¹ Vss. 32226 ff.

² Vss. 28853-53.

³ Vss. 28902-7.

⁴ Vss. 29012-23.

⁵ Vss. 29081-8.

⁶ Vss. 29143-52.

scription¹ of *Cymraeg*, and is the name that the Anglo-Saxons applied to Carric when they refused to have him any longer for king over them. He is *Cymraeg*, they said, "a Welshman," and they called him "Welsh" in derision.²

Layamon has added to Wace's mention of Arthur's coat-of-mail the information that it was made "by an elvish smith who was named *Wygar*, the witty wright."³ Madden thought that this name *Wygar* was a corrupted form for *Weland*, the well known Germanic smith-god.⁴ It is likely that *Weland* has in this passage been substituted for *Gofan* (Irish *Gobban*),⁵ the Celtic smith-god who corresponds roughly to the classic *Vulcan* and the Germanic *Weland*. In Irish and Welsh, wonderful arms are regularly said to be the work of *Gobban*. He would therefore be the natural artificer of Arthur's magic accoutrements. English

¹ *Cynric* was a royal name among the Anglo-Saxons at the time of Arthur. Cf. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, years 495 ff. May not the transcription of the spoken word *Cymraeg* have got confused with this well-known name?

² Compare what happens in our schools. A German lad gets the nickname of "Dutch," or a Norwegian that of "Norsk." The opprobrious name, it will be noticed, is given in the form peculiar to the language of the person ridiculed (cf. *Cymraeg*), not in its English form.

³ Vss. 21131-4. MADDEN's translation.

⁴ Vol. III, p. 376. Madden's view has not hitherto been assailed (cf. BINZ, *Beitr.*, Vol. XX, p. 187). I am indebted to Professor F. G. Hubbard for calling my attention to the extreme difficulty of maintaining with Madden that *Wygar* is merely a corrupted form for *Weland*. Professor Hubbard, adopting Madden's translation, suggests as a more probable origin for the form the name of *Widia*, or *Wudga*, *Weland's* son (cf. GREIN-WÜLCKER, *Bib. der angelsäch. Poesie*, Vol. I, pp. 6, 12), probably confused with that of the father in popular story. Professor Kittredge, who has very kindly looked over the proof-sheets of these pages, suggests a translation of the passage entirely different from Madden's. Layamon says:

Text A. "he wes ihatē Wygar
be witeje wurhte."

Text B. "he was i-hote Wigar
be wittye wrohte."

Professor Kittredge proposes to translate: "It [the coat-of-mail or burny] was named *Wygar* which *Witeje* wrought." *Wygar* would then be the Anglo-Saxon *wigheard* (battle hard), an appropriate name for the burny. *Witeje* would stand for the Anglo-Saxon *Widia*, the name of *Weland's* son. *Witeje*, the regular Middle-English equivalent for *Widi(g)a*, may have passed into the form *Witeje* through popular etymology, or scribal error, influenced by the well known word *witeje* (prophet) which occurs repeatedly in Layamon. (The form *wittye* of text B is found elsewhere in that text, meaning "prophet;" one is not obliged, however, to explain text B in harmony with text A, for the scribe of B may have misunderstood A.) Professor Kittredge by this translation avoids several difficulties. *Witeje* is probably not "witty," for, as he observes, words of the kind do not in Layamon end in -eje, but in simple -i. "Smith" is, of course, not the most natural meaning of the word *wurhte*.

⁵ Cf. GUEST's *Mabinogion*, ed. NUTT (London, 1902), pp. 122 and 67; WINDISCH, *Irische Texte*, Vol. I, p. 319; KEATING, *History of Ireland* (Irish Texts Society, Vol. IV), p. 219. With reference to the substitution of *Weland* for a Celtic smith Professor Kittredge compares the way in which Alfrid translates "Ubi nunc fidelis ossa *Fabricii* manent" (BOETH. II, metr. 7), taking *Fabricius* as *faber*: "Hwær synt nū ðæs foremæran and ðæs wisan gold-smiðes bān Welondes?" (ed. SEDGEFIELD, chap. xix, ll. 15, 16). Cf. also the *Vita Merlini* ascribed to Geoffrey: "pocula quae sculpsit Guilelandus in urbe Sigeni" (vs. 235).

narrators may easily have substituted *Weland* or *Wudia* for the unfamiliar *Gofan* of Welsh legend.¹

Indeed we find in Layamon what is perhaps distinct evidence that the arms of Arthur were at first said to be the work of *Gofan*. Some verses beyond the passage just quoted Layamon has another occasion to mention Arthur's spear and he declares that it "was made in Caermarthen by a smith called *Griffin*." It had once, he adds, belonged to King Uther.² All the belongings of Uther were in the beginning undoubtedly magical, like the Round Table which would seat sixteen hundred men and more, and yet Arthur could carry it with him wherever he rode,³ or like the sword *Caliburn* (*Excalibur*).⁴ This smith, added by Layamon to Wace's narrative, ought then to be possessed of magical powers. No one has hitherto explained his name. It is hard to imagine any reason for his being named after the fabulous griffin of classic antiquity. An extract recently published by Professor R. H. Fletcher, from the *Polistorie del Eglise de Christ de Caunterbyre*, an inedited chronicle extending to the year 1313, makes perfectly clear that the name of the Welsh smith *Gofan* or *Govan*, in slightly distorted form, passed into general Arthurian tradition. The *Polistorie* says that Gawain's sword bore an inscription declaring it to be the work of *Gaban*.⁵ The passage is of great interest because it shows the survival of an hitherto unnoticed bit of Celtic folk-lore in a late Arthurian legend. It makes easy the supposition that *Gofan*, through some intermediate form like *Gaban*, got changed by an English writer to *Griffin*.⁶

¹ It is important to note that the assumption of a reference in the passage from Layamon to the Germanic *Weland* is in no way essential to my proposed identification in the following paragraph of *Griffin* with *Gofan*. *Wygar* may be left unexplained without impairing conclusions about *Griffin*.

² Vss. 23781-6.

³ Vss. 22911-22.

⁴ "Made in Avalon with magic craft," vss. 21137-40.

⁵ *Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, Vol. XVIII (1903), p. 90. The inscription is said to read:

"Jeo su forte trenchaunte e dure.
gaban me fist. per mult graunt cure.
xiii. anns auoyt ihesu crist.
kaunt galan (original reading *gaban*) metrempa e fist."

Professor Fletcher notes the similarity of the figure of *Gaban* to Layamon's *Wygar* and *Griffin*, but he has not perceived the identity of *Gaban* with the Welsh *Gofan*.

⁶ Students of mediæval literature will see no difficulty in supposing that *Griffin*, a form that has meaning in old English, was derived by some Englishman from the to him incomprehensible *Gofan*. An adventitious *r* is particularly likely to creep in. I need only cite the

The distortion of *Cymraeg* to *Kinric* assumed above could have occurred only under the conditions of oral transmission. This agrees with historical requirements. The English warriors who applied the term *Cymraeg* to the Welsh king cannot be supposed to have read the word, but only to have heard it pronounced. On the other hand, the distortion of *Gofan* to *Griffin* could only occur in written transmission. Layamon evidently drew from English tales about Arthur, founded on earlier Welsh tradition and handed down, in part at least, in writing. This opinion has been already expressed by Ferdinand Lot in a review of my article referred to above. Lot's words,¹ "Comme il est totalement impossible que Layamon connût la phonétique du vieux-gallois, il faut qu'il ait puisé son récit à une source d'origine celtique et à une source écrite," accord exactly with the idea that Layamon's *Griffin*, the smith of Caermarthen in Wales, is a distorted survival of the Welsh *Gofan*.

Layamon gives to Arthur's helmet a particular name, "Gos-whit."² Madden has conjectured that this is a traditional name, and must be explained as the translation of a Welsh epithet.³ I believe that I have found curious evidence that such is really the case. In *Kulhwch* and *Owen* of the Red Book of Hergest, a Welsh tale which is so archaic in character that it is admitted on all hands⁴ to represent genuine Welsh tradition, we have the names of a number of Arthur's magic belongings. These names, it must be observed, almost invariably contain the meaning "white." *Pridwen*⁵ (the name of Arthur's ship) means "white form." *Wynebgrwthucher* (Arthur's shield) means "night gain-

well known variants: *Guingalet*, *Gringalet*; *Guingamore*, *Gringamore*; *Giffet*, *Griffet*. Cf. SCHOPFIELD, *Pub. of Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Vol. XV (1900), p. 143. It is fair to add that the well-known Welsh name *Griffith*, "ruddy," might give rise by corruption to the form *Griffin*. *Griffith*, however, seems not specially applicable to a smith.

¹ *Le Moyen Age*, Vol. VI (1892), pp. 115, 116. Cf. the opinion of GASTON PARIS, *Romania*, Vol. XXIX (1900), p. 634, though this review is not explicit on the question of written sources.

² Vs. 21147.

³ Vol. III, p. 377. The text of Layamon indicates, I think, clearly enough that he understood "Goose-white" to be the translation of a Welsh epithet. In the next line, after the account of the helmet, he describes Arthur's shield, and adds: "Its name was in *British* called *Pridwen*," implying, of course, that the name of the helmet had not been given in *British* (Welsh), but in English.

⁴ Cf. ZIMMER, *Gott. gel. Anz.* (1890), p. 524.

⁵ GUEST's *Mabinogion*, ed. NUTT, p. 106 (for *Pridwen* cf. p. 142).

sayer." *Carnwenhau* (Arthur's dagger) means "white haft." *Ehangwen*¹ (Arthur's hall) means "broad white," and even *Gwenhwyfar* (Arthur's wife) means "white enchantress." Surely it is no mere coincidence that Layamon's name for Arthur's helmet is "Goose-white." Probably all the belongings of the Celtic Other World had whiteness or luminosity attributed to them.² The name *Goswhit* occurs nowhere else, but I do not see how one can doubt but that it goes back to Welsh tradition. The coincidences between Layamon and Welsh tradition form a mass of cumulative evidence, the combined weight of which is almost irresistible.

Students of Arthurian romance have hitherto neglected Layamon. It was perhaps natural that they should. Layamon wrote about 1205, probably fifty years after traditions about Arthur were widely popular in France. At first thought it seems impossible that his chronicle could throw light on the history of the early development of the Arthurian legend. His additions to Wace might come, apparently, from the French romances. This, however, is not the case. Layamon lived in the wild borderland between Wales and England. The situation was evidently too remote for him to be acquainted with the romances current at Paris and London. Names like *Goswhit* have not passed through any French intermediary. The Round Table incident, with its archaic features of a combat with knives at a royal feast, and of the brutal punishment of nose cutting, is not from any chivalric French source.³ It betrays its origin by its connection with Gwynedd or North Wales⁴ and with Cornwall, whence the workman who made the Round Table is said to have come.

Layamon's additions to Wace, especially the account of Arthur's

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

² In the *Revue Celtique*, Vol. XXII (1901), pp. 339 ff., I have shown that Manannán, the Celtic sea-god and lord of the Other World, was almost certainly known by the epithet *Barintus*, "white-haired" or "white-topped." It is important to add that Manannán has in Irish legend a marvelous steed, *Enbarr*, "foam of the water" (evidently a personification of the crest of a storm wave).—JOYCE, *Old Celtic Romances*, p. 38, from the Book of Lecan compiled about 1416; and a helmet *Cannbarr* that glittered with dazzling brightness, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

³ Vss. 22737-974; cf. "The Round Table before Wace," referred to above.

⁴ Professor Kittredge first pointed out to me the identity of Layamon's "Winet-lond" (vs. 22788) and Gwynedd.

departure to Argante the queen¹ (perhaps a corruption for Morgan, the fay), and the Round Table story, the longest and most splendid of all, prove that the Welsh had a romantic Arthur about whom tales and legends were clustered. These additions made by Layamon are fatal to any theory which assumes that the Arthur stories were developed exclusively in Brittany, and that the Welsh knew only a heroic, not a romantic, Arthur. It is with the hope of calling attention to the importance of Layamon that these pages have been written. Layamon's *Brut* shows that at least some Arthur stories were developed in Wales, and passed directly from Welsh into English.

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¹ Vss. 28610-51.



SOME OF CHAUCER'S LINES ON THE MONK.

I.

He yaf nat of that text a pulled hen,
That seith that hunters been nat holy men.

—C. T., 177 f.

UPON this passage Professor Skeat says, in substance, that "text" means any remark in writing; that the allusion is to Nimrod (Gen. 10:9), who was described as a very bad man; and that the Canons of Edgar (No. 64) say, "We enjoin that a priest be not a hunter, nor a hawker, nor a dicer." The impression left by the note is that there is nothing more to be said. Nor must I omit to mention Professor Flügel's article,¹ which discusses the Nimrod legend at some length, though that article was preceded in publication by Professor Skeat's note. In passing I may remark that Professor Flügel has apparently missed some of the important relations of the Nimrod legend, for he need have gone no farther than Josephus to find that the Hebrews regarded Nimrod as a tyrant. One tradition says that Abraham left Ur of the Chaldees (Gen. 11:31) because of the oppression of Nimrod.²

It has not been noticed, however, that there is something more than an excellent commentary on the Chaucer lines above—to explain an older by a more recent writer—in the first chapter of Walton's *Angler*. Here Piscator, in praising his art, says:

And let me tell you that, in the Scripture, angling is always taken in the best sense, and that, though hunting may be sometimes so taken, yet is but seldom to be so understood. And let me add this more: he that views the ancient ecclesiastical canons shall find hunting to be forbidden to churchmen, as being a turbulent, toilsome, perplexing recreation; and shall find angling allowed to clergymen as being a harmless recreation, a recreation that invites them to contemplation and quietness.—Bethune's edition, p. 45.

Upon this passage, the American editor Bethune first added this note:

¹ *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. I, p. 123. Cf. also his notes in *Anglia*, Vol. XXIV, p. 448.

² BARING-GOULD, *Legends of the Patriarchs and Prophets*.

I have alluded to this in the Bib. Pref. In a collection of canons by St. Ives (Yves, Yvon, Yon), at the close of the eleventh century, he gives the decree of Gratian forbidding hunting, founded upon the passage ascribed to St. Jerome on xc (in King James's version xci) Psalm (which I have given in my Bib. Pref., commencing Esau, the usual way of quoting canon law). The reasons for angling being preferred are either conjectured by Walton or supplied by St. Ives the compiler. I quote from the *Corpus Juris Canonici* of Gregory XIII, ed. 1682 (where the decree is found *Dist. lxxxvi*, c. 11), which has been kindly lent me by a well-read friend. This reference has not been made by any previous commentator on Walton.

In his bibliographical preface (p. xxix) Bethune says:

According to the observation of St. Ives, the compiler of Ecclesiastical Canons, angling is a thing simple and innocent, no ways repugnant to the clerical character: non inveniri, in Scripturis sanctis, sanctum aliquem venatorem; piscatores inveniri sanctos (Esau, c. 86).

This note is by no means very effective when we consider the possibilities of expounding the Angler passage, and besides makes no allusion to Chaucer's Monk; but at least it leads us to the "Decretals" themselves. Turning to the *Decretum* of Gratian, more comprehensive than the earlier work of St. Ives, we find in *Decreta Pars Prima, Distinctio lxxxvi*, at least four canons against hunters (c. viii-xi). Of these, the one referred to by Bethune reads as follows:

C. XI. Hieronymus in Psalm xc, ad vers: Sperabo in Domino. Esau venator erat, quoniam peccator erat. Et penitus non invenimus, in Scripturis sanctis, sanctum aliquem venatorem; piscatores invenimus sanctos.¹

Now this, I think we may safely infer, is the "text" itself which Chaucer had in mind, or the most reasonable source of it. The "Decretals" were of course well known in his time, and especially such departures from them as were frequently laid at the door of the religious orders. The very next remark of Chaucer, that comparing a monk who is "recchelees" to a "fish that is waterlees" has its more immediate source in these same ecclesiastical canons.² While Chaucer may have had in mind,

¹ In St. Ives (Migne, *Patrologia*, 161, 810) the statement of the canon does not differ essentially. It reads: Pars XIII, cap. 33. Quod sancti inveniantur piscatores, nulli venatores. Hieronymus super psalm. xc (ad vers. 2). *Dist. 86*, c. Esau. Esau, etc., as already quoted.

² For the remoter sources see Professor Skeat's note on the passage.

as Professor Flügel thinks, John of Salisbury's *Polycraticus*,¹ the remark "Interroga patres tuos, et annuntiabunt tibi, majores tuos, et dicent se nusquam sanctum legisse venatorem" is surely based on Jerome's words above, or possibly on another form of his comment, as I shall show. In any case it is not as direct or forcible as that I have pointed out, which assumes a more immediate basis in Scripture itself and behind it the authority of the whole mediæval church. This comment of Jerome was also in the mind of the genial Walton when he saw how easily it could be used to support the claims of his own gentle art, while at the same time bearing most heavily upon his chance acquaintance Venator.²

The decretal based on Jerome is found in the *Breviarium in Psalmos* which, with the *Commentarium* on Job, was formerly attributed to St. Jerome and was doubtless regarded as genuine in mediæval times.³ The passage reads:

'Quoniam ipse liberabit me de laqueo venantium.' Multi sunt venatores in isto mundo, qui animam nostram venari conantur. Denique et Nimrod ille gigas; magnus in conspectu Dei venator fuit (Gen. x, 9), et Esau venator erat (Gen. xxvii, 3) quoniam peccator erat; et penitus non invenimus in Scripturis sanctis, sanctum aliquem venatorem. Piscatores invenimus sanctos.

¹ Lib. I, c. iv, "De Venatica;" Migne, pp. 199, 395.

² A word should be added regarding Professor Skeat's quotation of the English canon against hunting, though its wording shows no special relation to Chaucer's "text." There are at least three such canons which may be cited. The first is in *Liber Penitentialis* Theodori Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis Ecclesie, xxxii, 4:

"Si clericus venationes exercuit, i annum poeniteat; diaconus ii; presbiter iii annos poeniteat."—*Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, Vol. II, p. 43.

This belongs to the last half of the seventh century, as Theodore died in 690. A second comes to us from the eighth century, in the *Canons of Egbert*, Archbishop of York (d. 786), Book 14, 32:

"Gif hwylc gehadod man on huntas fare, gif hit beo cleric, forga xii monas fæsc; diacon, ii geara; mæssepreost, iii; and bisceop, vii."—*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 214.

Finally, in the tenth century, there is the canon of King Edgar (ixiv) which Professor Skeat quotes in part:

"And we læraþ þæt preost ne beo hunta, ne hæfere, ne tæflere, ac plege on his bocum swa his hade gebiraþ."—*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 259.

It will be clearly seen that none of these can be regarded as the original of Chaucer's "text," and it is probable that no one of them was in his mind when he wrote.

³ Appendix to Jerome's Commentaries on various books of the Bible, Migne, *Jerome*, Vol. VII; *Patrologia*, 26, 1097. A footnote on the decretal says that the comment is not found in Jerome's works, and gives no direct reference to the place in which it occurs. The note, of course, means that the passage does not occur in genuine works of Jerome. But in such cases we must consider, not what is now known as to the genuineness of works belonging to the early Christian period, but what was believed in mediæval times.

It will be noticed that both Nimrod and Esau are mentioned, though the decretal takes account of the latter only. This was natural, since Nimrod was associated with tyranny and other vices, while Esau was a hunter in the more restricted sense, and his name was more properly associated with a canon against hunting. This also is some reason for believing that Chaucer knew the ecclesiastical canon only, rather than some passage like that in John of Salisbury, who includes an account of hunting among the classical peoples, besides referring to Nimrod and Esau.

If Jerome did not write the *Breviarium in Psalmos* mentioned above, he expresses the same idea in his *Commentarium in Machæam*, cap. V, vers. 6 (Migne 25, 1201): "Quantum ergo possum mea recolere memoria, nunquam venatorem in bonum partem legi." This, it will be seen, is very close to the language of John of Salisbury, and is probably the passage which the latter had in mind when writing the sentence already quoted.

Further back than Jerome, or the *Breviarium* attributed to him, the same thought is similarly expressed by Ambrose, *Expositio in Psalmum cxviii* [119], vs. 61. Funes peccatorum:

Haec sunt sceleratorum vincula quae dure peccatores ligant, hoc est, diabolus et ministri ejus, vel certe Nemrod, hoc est, amaritudo, vel certe Esau, hoc est, terrenus et callidus. Isti enim venatores erant, qui feras laqueis captare consueverunt, et muta animantia vinculis illigare. Inutiles venatores, qui capiant bestias, quae pompam spectaculo populari praebeant, ministerium crudelitati. Denique nullum invenimus in divinarum serie Scripturarum de venatoribus justum.¹

The reference in this passage to the hunters of wild beasts for the circus has its parallel several times in the writings of St. Augustine, who expresses the abhorrence of early Christians for those gladiatorial shows in which so many of their own number had suffered martyrdom. It is sufficient here to mention the Canon based on a passage of Augustine in comment on Ps. 102:6. This has the heading "Nil esse dandum venatoribus et histrionibus" in the *Decretals* of Ives (Pars XIII, cap. 31),² and is taken from the *Enarratio in Psalmos*, cii [103], vs. 6 (Migne, 37, 132).

¹ MIGNE, Ambrose, Vol. I, p. 1380; *Patrologia*, Vol. XV. Cf. preceding page, footnote 3.

² MIGNE, *Patrologia*, 161, 810. Compare GRATIAN, Pars Prima, Distinctio LXXXVI, c. ix.

I return to the *Breviarium* attributed to Jerome in order to mention another part of the commentary on Psalm 91:3, because it has almost equal significance for other passages in mediæval literature. Immediately following the part already quoted occurs this passage:

"Quoniam ipse liberabit me de laqueo venantium." "Anima nostra sicut passer erepta est de laqueo venantium. Laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus" (Ps. cxxiii, 7). Qui est iste laqueus qui contritus est? Dominus, inquit, conterat Satanam sub pedibus nostris velociter (Rom. xvi, 20); et Apostolus dicit: Ut liberamini a laqueo diaboli (II Tim. ii, 26). Vides ergo quoniam iste venator est, qui animos nostras venari cupit ad perditionem? Multos habet diabolus laqueos, et diversos habet laqueos. Avaritia diaboli laqueus est: ira, detractio, etc.

The hunter is here made a type of the devil and this is a common conception of mediæval writers. Compare Chaucer himself in the Second Nun's Tale:

Wel oghten we to don al oure entente,
Lest that the feend thugh ydelnesse us hente.
For he that with his thousand cordes slye
Continuelly us waiteth to biclappe,
Whan he may man in ydelnesse espye,
He kan so lightly cacche hym in his trappe;
Til that a man be hent right by the lappe,
He nys nat war the feend hath hym in honde;
Wel oghte us werche and ydelnesse withstonde.¹

This explains, also, a line in the Middle English "Bestiary" (Nature Leonis, Significacio prime nature), which reads:

Migte nevre divel witen ðog he be derne hunte.

Here "divel" refers to the Latin "venatorem" in the Physiologus of Theobaldus.

The common interpretation of the above-mentioned passage from the Psalms, and similar allusions in other parts of the Bible, directly affected early translations of the Psalter. The inter-

¹ *Cant. Tales*, 9, 6 f. For a similar interpretation of the hunter as the devil see the passage from Ambrose already quoted on p. 106. In his *Enarratio in Psalmos*, Augustine comments as follows on Psalm 90 [91]:3: Tendit diabolus et angeli ejus, tanquam venantes tendunt muscipulas; et longe ab ipsis muscipulis ambulant homines qui in Christo ambulant.—Migne, 37, 1151. Without attempting to go further, also, I note this passage from RABANUS MAUREUS, *De Universo*, Lib. VIII, c. 1, De Bestiis: Venator diabolus, in cujus figura Nemrod ille gigas venator coram Domino, ut in Genesi (Gen. x); venatores pravi homines, ut in propheta: Venantes ceperunt me, quasi avem, inimici mei gratis (Thren. III).

linears are not influenced, it is true, but the freer translations introduce instead of "hunter" a more or less clear reference to the devil. This seems to be intended in the poetical version of the Psalms printed by Thorpe in 1835 and later by Grein,¹ in which Ps. 90[91]:3 reads:

For ðon he me alysyde of laðum grine,
huntum unholdum, hearmum worde.

As there is nothing in the original requiring "unholdum," and as the noun "unholda" means the devil, it seems reasonable to believe that the Old English paraphrast had in mind some such commentary as I have quoted. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt of the translation in Middle English, known as the West Midland Prose Psalter. In this Ps. 90[91]:3 reads:

For he deliuerd me from þe trappes of fendes and fram asper word of men.

Similarly Ps. 123[124]:6, 7 is translated:

Oure soule is defended as þe sparowe fram þe gnare of þe fouler. Þe trappes of þe fend is tobroke wyþ þe deþ of Crist, and we ben delivered fro dampnacioun.

It thus becomes evident that the passage in the *Breviarium in Psalmos* attributed to Jerome explains not only the "text" in Chaucer's description of the Monk (*C. T.* 5, 177, 178), but more fully than has been done the allusion to the ecclesiastical canons in Walton's *Angler*, and finally the free translations of parts of the Psalms in at least one, probably two, of the early English Psalters.

II.

I return to Chaucer's Monk in order to comment on another difficulty connected with the lines immediately following those already explained. Those lines are:

Ne that a monk, whan he is recchelees,
Is lykned til a fish that is waterlees;
This is to seyn, a monk out of his cloystre;
But thilke text heeld he nat worth an oystre.

It will be remembered that the word "recchelees," in the first line of this passage, has been regarded as inadequate or incorrect.

¹ WÜLKER'S GREIN, *Angelsächsische Poesie*, III, 391.

Professor Skeat adopts the reading "cloisterles," found only in the Harleian MS, and explains the apparent tautology of the third line by assuming that "cloisterles" was "a coined word" and hence needed explanation. The editors of the "Globe" Chaucer retain "recchelees," note the "cloysterles" of the Harleian MS, and add, "neither reading is satisfactory." Liddell has the following note:

Recchelees seems to have a peculiar meaning here, "careless of regulations," so that Chaucer has to explain what he means in vv. 181, 182. Various emendations have been suggested, "rewlelees," "cloysterles" of H., "recetless," i. e. refugeless, but no emendation is necessary in view of vv. 181, 182.¹

Just why the reading "recchelees" has been regarded as so unsatisfactory is nowhere explained, but the probable reason is that it suggests modern English "reckless," a word felt to be quite too weak. And yet it should surely be remembered that many a modern word had a stronger and more comprehensive meaning in Old or Middle English, and this should at least suggest an adequate investigation of the original content and use. An examination of the meaning of "recchelees" in such examples as were easily accessible results as follows:

The first appearance of the O. E. word "receleas" ("recceleas") is in the Corpus Gloss, where it translates Lat. "prævaricator" (MS "præfaricator"), *Sweet's Oldest English Texts*, p. 89. In this case we must remember that prævaricator means "one who violates his duty, a transgressor," from which we may also infer the meanings of corresponding mediæval words as given by Du Cange, "pravus, perversus, corruptus, immutatus." "Receleas" is used in a similar sense in the Alfredian *Boethius*, 5, 3:

Du wendest þæt steorlease men and recelease wæron gesællige — translating Latin 'nequam homines atque nefarios felices arbitraris.'

Upon this passage Lye bases his entry, "receleas i. q. recceleas. Item nefarius, dissolutus." Benson had already preceded Lye with the definitions "negligens, dissolutus." The Alfredian *Bede* (3, 13) uses the word in the following passage:

¹ The suggestion of "rewleles" was made by Professor Koch, of Berlin, some twenty years ago (*Anglia V. Anzeiger*, p. 128), and again by E. Krüsinga in the London *Athenæum* of November 29, 1902. "Recetles" was proposed by Professor Ten Brink, but neither emendation has been adopted by editors.

Ymb þa gymene his ecre hælo he wæs to sære and to receleas — translating the Latin “*erga curam perpetuae suae salvationis nihil omnino studii et industriae gerens.*”

In Ælfric's *Homilies* (ed. of Thorpe, I, 320, 18) the following use of the word again indicates a far more serious neglect and disregard of duty than modern English “reckless” would imply:

Ac se þe on þam ærran tocyne lipegode, þam synfullum to gecyrrrednysse, se demp stipe dom þam receleasum æt þam æfteran tocyne.

But he that at the former advent was mild, for the conversion of the sinful, shall judge a harsh doom to the “reccheles” [to use Chaucer's word] at the later coming.

The same serious sense is carried by the O. E. nouns “receliest” and “receleasness,” though I will not take space to illustrate them.

The Old English uses of the word “receleas” carry the sense of responsible and inexcusable neglect of duty, especially religious duty or regulation. In other examples, not relating to religious affairs, the sense of inexcusable neglect is often apparent, as when King Alfred arraigns the ignorance of his time in the Preface to the *Pastoral Care*:

Hie [ure ieldran] ne wendon þætte æfre menn sceolden swære recelease weorðan, ond sio lar swære oðfeallan.

The Middle English uses of the word “reccheles” (“recchelees”) bear out those of the older language. A number of passages are at hand, but I select only a few. In *Old English Homilies* (First Series, p. 245) we find,

For alle hit beoð untohene ant rechelese hinen, bute þef he ham rihte;
For all these are untoward and “reccheles” servants, unless he directs them,—

referring to the senses, which lead the soul to its destruction. So in *Piers Plowman* (B, Passus 18, 2 f.), the writer speaks of himself

As a reccheles ranke þat of no wo recceþeth,
And yede forth lyke a loren al my lyfþyme,

in which the reference is clearly to neglect of the soul's salvation. Several passages in Chaucer's own writings might be cited, but I naturally refrain from using any examples which are not

conclusive as to the stronger meaning of the word. One in which the corresponding noun is employed may be noted:

Now, certes, this foule sinne Accidie is eek a ful greet enemy to the lyfode of the body; for it ne hath no purveaunce agayn temporel neces-sitee, for it forsloweth and forsluggeth and destroyeth alle goodes temporeles by reccheleesnesse.—*The Parson's Tale* (l. 610).

But conclusive proof that Chaucer's "recchelees" is used in a sense that would be especially applicable to the Monk, as a prelate, is found in two other passages. The first is in *Old English Homilies* (Second Series, p. 39), describing the good and bad parson. Of the latter it says,

Iners pastor aut sedet in ignorancia aut accubitat in negligencia, aut jacet in voluntate. De unwreste herde sit on unwisdomnesse, for he ne can is orf gemen; oðer hloneð and slepeð; and synegeð on gemeleste also he pat is recheles and non eige ne stand of loverde; oðer lið on lipere wille and feste slepeð on his synne.

The slothful shepherd sitteth in ignorance, for he knows not how to guard his flock; or lounges about and sinneth in negligence, as he that is "recchelees" and standeth in no awe of his lord; or lieth in evil desire and sleepeth fast in his sins.

The second occurs in the treatise "Of Confession" in the *Cursor Mundi*. I quote first from the directions given to a priest as to confessing the inmate of a religious house (ll. 27, 232 f.):

De preist agh spere al wit resun
O men es in religion,
Namli hu þai lede þamself
Anentes þe abusiones tuelf;
De formast, recclis prelat es.

—Cotton MS.

The Fairfax MS is even more direct:

De prest agh spere in gode resun
Of men þat ar in religioun,
Quelk reccheles prelat is.

I may add from another part of *Cursor Mundi* (ll. 28, 238 f.) a typical confession, part of which at any rate relates to a priest:

I ha bene reckeles on many wys
Anentis Crist and his servise
* * * * *
Mi childer als and my menze

A reckeles ledar þai fand me.

* * * * *

Quare I was scheperd, hade sauls to kepe,
To reckelesly I geit my schepe;
I chastyd þam noght als me bird,
Ne teched trouth als saul hyrd;
Over slaw I was for þam to ris,
Reckeles to do þam þair servise.
I ha ben bath reckeles and suere
To helpe nedy in þair mistere.

In the first of the above quotations from *Cursor Mundi* the allusion to "De abusiones tuelf" is especially significant, since it leads us to the treatise *De Duodecim Abusionum Gradibus* attributed to Cyprian or Augustine (Migne 4, 847, or 40, 1079). In this the tenth is called "Episcopus negligens"—the "recceles prelat" of *Cursor Mundi*, and ample explanation of Chaucer's "monk whan he is reccheles."¹

The question will still arise why did Chaucer explain the expression "reccheles" by reference to the "monk out of his cloystre." This, I believe, is not a serious objection to retaining the MS reading, after a proper appreciation of the meaning of "reccheles." A "reccheles" monk, neglectful of all the duties and requirements of the monastic life, was felt to be as anomalous, compared with the true observer of that life, as a fish out of water. Then remembering, perhaps, that the latter expression had been used in special connection with the idea of a monk out of his cloister, one in the fullest sense neglectful of rule, Chaucer adds the explanatory phrase. Besides, a "reccheles" monk and one out of his cloister were regarded as practically the same in mediæval conception. The Benedictine Rule takes account of four classes of monks. The first and second are monks and nuns of the regular sort, a third the Sarabaites, an eastern class, and a fourth the wandering monks.² With the latter, the bane of the

¹ Compare the "Ten Abuses" in two versions as printed by Morris in *An Old English Miscellany* (Early English Text Society, 49, 184); one of these is:

"Preost þat is wilde,
Biscop slouh."

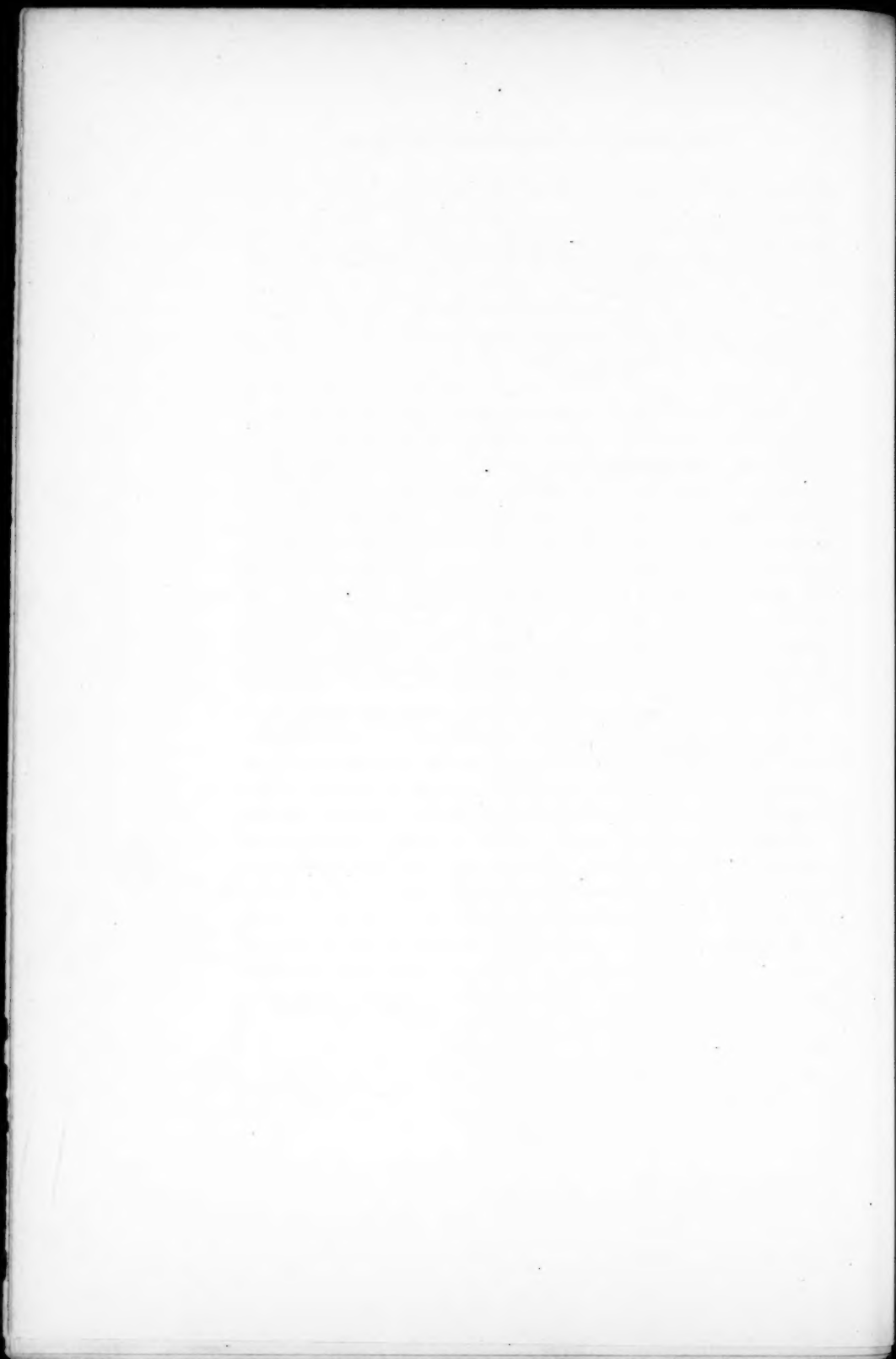
² Quartum vero genus est monachorum quod nominatur gyrovagum; qui tota vita sua per diversas provincias ternis aut quaternis diebus per diversorum cellas hospitantur, semper vagi et numquam stabiles. Et propriis volutatibus et gule illecebris servientes et per omnia deteriores Sarabaitis.—Benedictine Rule, chap. i.

monastic order, were associated all forms of evil, as shown by many references, so that it is not at all strange that Chaucer should have used these two expressions as practically equivalent. In brief, then, the content and use of the word "reccheles," as shown by Old and Middle English examples, prove that it is entirely adequate to the line in which Chaucer uses it; and that there is no real conflict between the expressions "reccheles" and "out of his cloistre" in the following line.

In further exposition of the lines on the monk it may not be out of place to recall the number of specific precepts of the Benedictine Rule and the canons which Chaucer's monk was guilty of disobeying. He disregarded, as we have seen, the canons against hunting (ll. 166, 177-82, 189-92). His fine horses and dogs were equally opposed to the vow of poverty taken by the monks. His fine clothes (ll. 193, 197, 203) were in direct contravention of the Benedictine requirement of the simplest and coarsest clothing. He paid no attention to the rule of study and of labor with the hands "as Austin bit" (ll. 184-7); in short, he was utterly neglectful of any part of the Rule he had solemnly sworn to observe, whenever it interfered with his interests in "the newe world" (ll. 173-6).

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ROMANTISME ET PROTESTANTISME.

ON a essayé souvent de définir le romantisme; on l'a essayé avec plus ou moins de bonheur. A ces définitions si nombreuses, toujours incomplètes, je n'ajouterai pas la mienne. Je signalerai seulement les traits principaux qu'on lui attribue: réaction contre le classicisme, amour de la nature, soif d'indépendance ou de liberté dans l'art. Mais j'ajoute tout de suite qu'à mes yeux le romantisme n'en tire pas son originalité. Avant V. Hugo, à un intervalle de deux siècles, Ronsard et A. Chénier tentèrent d'assouplir le vers français et réussirent dans leur tâche. La rime riche, le vers libre, la césure variée, les enjambements, tout cela était déjà connu et pratiqué avec art. Avant la préface de *Cromwell*, les trois unités furent battues en brèche par des poètes qui n'eurent aucune ambition romantique, Népomucène Lemercier, Ancelot, Pierre Lebrun. On était depuis longtemps d'accord pour rejeter ces chaînes, alléger cette armure, jadis portée avec une grâce aisée par Racine, mais trop lourde à ses successeurs. Si l'on disait que le lyrisme constitue la marque distinctive du romantisme, on toucherait de plus près la vérité. Mais je rappellerai que l'expression du sentiment personnel était connue au XVIII^e siècle. On y fut sentimental si Parny, les *poetae minores*, A. Chénier surtout, chantèrent la nature, l'amour, la mort, tous les thèmes magnifiquement exploités depuis. Mais ce qu'ils n'éprouvèrent jamais, ce fut le sentiment religieux. Voilà pourquoi, à côté des autres traits, je note celui-ci chez les romantiques, du moins à l'aube de leur poésie naissante, comme le plus nouveau, le plus original. C'est le sentiment religieux qui ranima la poésie décolorée de l'âge précédent. Il germa des ruines qui jonchaient le sol après la tourmente révolutionnaire, des désillusions, après tant d'espérances fauchées, du présent tragique, du lendemain sombre, du besoin pour les esprits déracinés de se rattacher à quelque chose d'impérissable.

Mais que fut-il au juste? Que fut le mouvement romantique en sa véritable essence? Quand on ne songe qu'au *Génie du*

Christianisme, aux premiers essais des poètes romantiques, il semble qu'on assiste à une renaissance du catholicisme. Or, les esprits lettrés subirent d'autres influences, d'allure plutôt protestante, et dont la trace m'a paru aussi sensible. D'abord l'influence anglaise avec Milton, Young, Gray, Hervey, Byron, Shelley, qui passionnèrent tous les écrivains de l'époque impériale, et en particulier le maître de sa nouvelle littérature, Chateaubriand. Il vécut en Angleterre du 21 mai 1793 au 8 mai 1800, autant dire les années décisives de sa vie. Dans ses *Mémoires*, il écrit sur ses dispositions à cette époque (1800): "J'étais Anglais de manières, de goûts, et, jusqu'à un certain point, de pensée." Dans son *Voyage en Angleterre et en Écosse* (1825), A. Pichot parle longuement de Wordsworth, de Coleridge, de Southey, et même de Shelley, même de Keats. Dès cette époque, les lakistes séduisent les cœurs par une poésie toute pleine d'intimité charmante. Au même moment, je veux dire au déclin du XVIII^e siècle et à l'aube du XIX^e, la littérature allemande intéressait aussi vivement les intelligences françaises. Qu'il me suffise de citer Klopstock, Herder, Wieland, Goethe, Schiller, les frères Schlegel, dont les œuvres provoquèrent l'admiration et la sympathie. A leur souffle puissant s'envolèrent à l'envi les germes de rénovation qui devaient féconder en France la poésie renaissante. Or, pour m'en tenir au seul point de vue de cette étude, est-il possible que leur influence, si vague qu'on la suppose, ne s'étendît pas au sentiment religieux? Et sans nier les teintes catholiques dont elle se para, la religiosité des romantiques, leur déisme sentimental n'est-il pas plus voisin du spiritualisme philosophique de ces écrivains protestants? Je pose ici simplement la question, me réservant de préciser la réponse à propos de Dieu, tel qu'il fut chanté par nos poètes. Mais il était bon, pour aider à déterminer l'origine et la qualité du sentiment religieux, d'appeler l'attention sur ces fréquentations littéraires, et de ne pas se borner, comme on le fait trop souvent, à nommer Chateaubriand, à lui attribuer tout le mouvement de restauration religieuse.

Cette remarque s'impose davantage, si l'on veut bien ne pas oublier Rousseau, ni M^{me} de Staël, dont les œuvres, celles de Rousseau surtout, nourrirent l'imagination et la sensibilité du

nouveau siècle. Jean-Jacques se glorifia toujours d'être protestant. M^{me} de Warens, avant sa conversion plus ou moins sincère au catholicisme, avait été l'élève d'un réformateur vaudois Magny, adepte fervent du piétiste allemand Spener; or, ce fut dans ces longues conversations avec "maman" que Rousseau—lui-même le raconte—puisa toutes ses pensées sur la Religion et les religions.¹ Il n'accepte pas la révélation, ni ses dogmes; mais dans la *Profession de foi du Vicaire savoyard*, il embrasse par le cœur toutes les grandes vérités de la religion naturelle; il ose rendre, dans le siècle de Voltaire, un hommage ému au Christ et à l'Évangile. Or, y a-t-il si loin de ce chaud spiritualisme au christianisme poétique de Chateaubriand, au christianisme sentimental de Lamartine? Non, et tout à l'heure nous verrons leur parenté intime. Quant à M^{me} de Staël, longtemps imbuë de la philosophie du XVIII^e siècle, elle s'achemine, au cours de sa vie, vers un christianisme large, issu du protestantisme. Si les littératures du Nord lui paraissent supérieures à celles du Midi, c'est au protestantisme qu'elle en fait remonter l'honneur, à lui qu'elles doivent leur gravité morale et leur profondeur de sentiment, à lui, semble-t-elle dire, que les lettrés doivent demander le renouvellement de la littérature française. Pour son compte, guérie des ivresses rationalistes, elle se résout, en pleine force du génie, à n'écouter plus que la voix de son cœur; et docile plus ou moins aux impressions de son enfance calviniste, elle se fit une religion d'où elle retranchait ce qu'elle appelle les inventions sacerdotales, une sorte de latitudinarisme piétiste; ou, si l'on veut, elle adopte le christianisme du Vicaire savoyard. Et alors, de ce déisme exalté, très protestant d'origine et de nature, n'ai-je pas raison de rapprocher les vagues effusions religieuses, détachées de tout dogme, où se complurent les premiers poètes romantiques? Ce rapprochement n'a rien de téméraire, puisque M^{me} de Staël fut beaucoup leur mère ou marraine, ainsi qu'on l'a dit d'elle, à propos des doctrinaires en politique,² puisqu'elle a initié leur esprit à la pensée germanique, puisqu'ils ont appris d'elle, non moins que de Chateaubriand, à unir religion et poésie. Pour

¹ *Revue de Paris*—15 Fév. 1895—De l'Influence des littératures étrangères, p. 885.

² LANSON, *Histoire de la littérature française*, édit. 1896, p. 867.

résumer ces observations sur des influences étrangères très certaines, il semble donc qu'elles ont dû créer une atmosphère plutôt favorable au protestantisme qu'au catholicisme. Et ici, je n'oublie pas Chateaubriand. A Dieu ne plaise en effet que je méconnaisse l'originalité du *Génie du Christianisme*, sa large part dans la restauration du sentiment religieux ou poético-catholique. Mais il est bon de se souvenir qu'avant de l'écrire, il fut l'élève de Rousseau, qu'il y a aussi *René*. Or *René* c'est du pur Rousseau, le Rousseau des *Confessions*, inquiet, orgueilleux, sensuel, celui de la *Nouvelle Héloïse*, s'ingéniant à composer un mélange pervers de religion et de passion; celui de l'*Émile*, cherchant dans la nature la nourrice et la maîtresse de sa vie. Et s'il est vrai d'ajouter qu'aucune œuvre, non pas même le *Génie du Christianisme*, n'égala l'influence de *René* sur l'âme française, sur la poésie romantique en particulier, j'ai bien le droit de joindre Chateaubriand à sa rivale, M^{me} de Staël, à son maître, Rousseau, et, que certains catholiques me pardonnent, de lui attribuer sans trop d'étrangeté paradoxale quelques teintes de cette couleur protestante que je vais analyser plus en détail.

Car il y a plus que des affinités extérieures entre le romantisme et le protestantisme. Non-seulement ils ont ce trait commun d'être une protestation, l'un contre l'autorité et la tradition catholique, l'autre contre l'autorité et la tradition classique, mais ils se rapprochent intimement par leur principe même. Le principe protestant, c'est le libre examen, la pensée libre, le libre sentiment. Le principe romantique, c'est tout cela en matière littéraire. Il suffit de relire les préfaces de Victor Hugo, en qui le romantisme est à bon droit personnifié. Se débarrassant des vaines formules, il proclame la révolution poétique, dont il reste le promoteur, fille de la révolution politique par la liberté. Cette liberté, sans doute, il ne la revendique pas du même ton partout. En 1824, dans la première préface des *Odes*, il la voile du mot vérité; puis, dans la seconde (1826), il réclame pour la pensée, terre vierge, le droit de croître librement; enfin, à la date de 1828, il fait observer dans ses idées une progression de liberté toute pleine de signification. Le vrai sens est celui-ci: ni règles,

ni codes; franchise absolue de l'inspiration. Et voilà ce que j'appelle le principe protestant. D'où les mêmes conséquences. Le protestantisme aboutit à l'indépendance de l'individu en matière de foi, au sens propre, chacun ne relevant que de sa conscience religieuse, et alors réclamant très légitimement le droit d'avoir sa religion. C'est le triomphe de l'individualisme. Or, l'émancipation entière du *moi* constitue précisément un trait essentiel du romantisme. Cela veut dire d'abord non-seulement liberté d'éprouver toutes sortes d'émotions, mais droit souverain de les communiquer, d'être soi en tout, de ne reconnaître d'autre loi que celle de la fantaisie. Ainsi parlait Victor Hugo, ainsi chantait-il, lui, et Lamartine, Vigny, Musset. Seulement rappelons-nous que Rousseau fut le premier théoricien passionné de l'individualisme, son premier modèle en littérature, que la victoire de l'individualisme est sa victoire, qu'enfin il n'est pas arbitraire de le faire découler de son protestantisme, si celui-ci tend très naturellement à développer la personnalité, le jugement propre, à provoquer l'expansion du sentiment individuel. C'est donc du même coup rendre plus sensibles les affinités dont il est ici question. Du reste, si l'excès d'individualisme a entraîné les manifestations bizarres, malades même d'un *moi* trop aimé, trop écouté, comme l'esprit de la Réforme a multiplié autour de lui les sectes les plus variées; si même par cet excès d'individualisme, le plus beau mouvement littéraire qui fut jamais a peut-être avorté, ou du moins grandement dévié, en revanche il faut reconnaître que de cette liberté absolue naquit l'abondance, la richesse, l'éclat incomparable de notre poésie lyrique; que nous lui devons les *Méditations* de Lamartine, les belles *Odes* et les *Contemplations* de Victor Hugo, les *Nuits* de Musset. C'est de quoi nous consoler beaucoup de ses erreurs.

Est-il possible encore de pousser plus loin ces rapprochements avec le protestantisme, quand il revêt surtout la forme rationaliste ou panthéistique? Je le crois. Ainsi il n'est pas rare qu'on veuille retrouver chez Lamartine une inspiration chrétienne.¹ Et peut-être en effet n'est-il pas trop malaisé d'y réussir. Mais à coup sûr,

¹ Je l'ai essayé moi-même avec les réserves nécessaires dans mon livre sur *Le sentiment chrétien dans la poésie romantique*, édit. Poussielgue, 1901.

cette inspiration n'est pas catholique, sauf en quelques rares pièces.¹ Elle paraît plutôt voisine de l'inspiration déiste, dont l'accent chaleureux anime la *Profession de foi du Vicaire savoyard*; et ainsi Lamartine semble appartenir à la religion de Rousseau. Je ne parle pas de sa religion personnelle; près d'une mère sincèrement pieuse, il n'éprouva que des impressions catholiques. Mais quand il chante Dieu dans ses vers, surtout à partir de 1830, c'est le disciple de Rousseau, le lecteur enthousiaste de la *Nouvelle Héloïse*, des *Confessions*, qui apparaît. En effet, si son Dieu n'est pas l'Etre suprême des philosophes, vague abstraction, Dieu fainéant retiré dans les profondeurs du ciel, il n'est pas non plus catholique, ni souvent chrétien. Dans les poèmes où s'exprime le sentiment de la nature, cela va de soi. Lamartine en a le sens religieux, il traduit merveilleusement ses harmonies avec le Créateur, dont elle révèle la puissance, la sagesse, la vie immense. Les élans vers l'infini, que suscite la contemplation de l'univers, il les éprouve vivement. Mais rien de catholique dans ces impressions; et je ne m'en étonne pas. La nature n'appartient à aucune religion positive; elle ne nous apprend rien sur la Révélation, sur ses dogmes, sur le Christ; à l'esprit religieux elle apparaît déiste simplement. Lamartine est comme la nature. Dans son déisme, point spéculatif, tout sentimental, je reconnais, outre l'effigie de son âme, l'influence de Rousseau, dont il est la marque propre. Mais cette influence est encore sensible dans les hommages adressés directement à Dieu, et ceci est plus caractéristique. Par exemple, les *Harmonies* sont avant tout des hymnes pieux, admirables souvent de ferveur, et cependant à peu près toujours déistes, même quand il s'y mêle des souvenirs d'une religion positive. Ainsi, le poète pénètre dans un temple, le soir; or, il n'y voit pas Jésus-Christ, ce qu'aurait fait un catholique convaincu.² Une autre fois, il est captivé par la douce et faible lumière d'une lampe dans le sanctuaire. C'est le symbole de la prière, de l'âme qui s'épanche silencieuse devant le Seigneur; mais Lamartine oublie que pour des croyants elle veille devant l'Eucharistie.³ Cet oubli d'un Dieu révélé, je le constate à peu près partout. Dans ses élans, d'ailleurs magnifiques, vers l'infini, vers la

¹ Par exemple, le *Crucifix*, l'*Hymne au Christ*.

² *Harmonies*, Livre I, 8.

³ *Ibid.*, 4.

divinité, aucune place n'est faite à Jésus-Christ, ou presque; il n'y a aucune trace précise des espérances surnaturelles qu'aurait dû pourtant retrouver en son cœur l'adolescent de Milly, l'élève de Belley. Je sais que l'on peut citer quelques pièces plus chrétiennes de pensée et de sentiment, le *Crucifix* par exemple, l'*Hymne au Christ*. Mais en général les poèmes religieux, même dans les *Méditations* et dans les *Harmonies*, reflètent un déisme splendide plutôt qu'une inspiration catholique. A plus forte raison cela est-il vrai de *Jocelyn*. Le curé de Valneige n'a pas de théologie encombrante; Dieu, l'âme, voilà ses dogmes; ni miracles, ni révélation; tolérance doctrinale qui met sur le même pied toutes les religions; Jésus-Christ, dont il est pourtant le prêtre, pratiquement oublié, quoique célébré en un beau langage ému. C'est un autre Vicaire savoyard. Que dire de la *Chute d'un Ange*, œuvre inférieure à la précédente, mais remplie du même esprit rationaliste? Il s'étale au *Livre primitif*; le vieillard du Carmel instruit Cédar et Daidha; il leur parle de Dieu, de l'immortalité, des progrès indéfinis; mais il proscriit toute religion révélée.¹ Je sais bien que ceci n'est pas du protestantisme orthodoxe; il serait même puéril d'en rechercher la trace dans les œuvres de Lamartine, catholique de naissance, d'éducation, et enfin de mort. Tout simplement le poète fut spiritualiste, et, depuis 1830, à tendances rationalistes. Mais si l'on observe qu'il y a bien des manières d'être protestant, depuis celle de Calvin jusqu'à la manière de Rousseau et de M^{me} de Staël; si l'on veut se rappeler l'influence sur Lamartine de ces deux illustres écrivains, protestants même en littérature, on ne trouvera pas étrange que je signale dans la poésie de Lamartine des affinités, peut-être involontaires, mais réelles. Au fond, la religion de toute sa vie est celle du Vicaire savoyard. C'est par là qu'il se rapproche plus de l'esprit protestant que du catholicisme. C'est tout ce que je prétends ici.

Je puis le dire encore et davantage de V. Hugo. Premièrement, il ne fut jamais catholique. Il naquit de parents sans religion. Son père fut d'abord un républicain farouche; je dis "d'abord,"

¹ Le seul livre divin dans lequel il écrit
Son nom toujours croissant, homme, c'est ton esprit.
L'intelligence en nous, hors de nous, la nature,
Voilà le vrai Dieu: le reste est imposture.

car, sous la Restauration il devint un "rallié" fervent. Mais pendant l'époque révolutionnaire, il changea son nom en celui de Brutus, et dans une adresse à la Convention, il s'offrait "à répandre la dernière goutte de son sang pour écraser les tyrans, les *fanatiques*, les royalistes, les fédéralistes." Donc, beaucoup de civisme, point de religion. De M^{me} Hugo, son fils nous conte que, pauvre fille de quinze ans, elle fuyait à travers le Bocage, brigande comme M^{me} de Bonchamp et M^{me} de la Rochejaquelein. Poétique illusion, comme on sait. Sa mère fut royaliste, si l'on veut, mais très loin des chouans, et plutôt voltairienne que chrétienne, bien que de pieuse famille. Les deux époux s'unirent civilement (1796), forcés peut-être par les circonstances, mais sans regret, s'il faut en croire V. Hugo. "Les églises étaient fermées en ce moment, les prêtres enfuis ou cachés; les jeunes gens ne se donnèrent pas la peine d'en trouver un; la mariée tenait médiocrement à la bénédiction du curé, le marié n'y tenait pas du tout."¹ Donc, entre le père et la mère, un trait commun: l'absence de religion. C'est dire qu'aucune influence chrétienne n'entoura le berceau du futur grand homme. Puis, commence la série des voyages imprévus en Corse, à Gênes (1805), à Naples (1807), en Espagne vers 1811. Ils laissèrent peut-être en son jeune esprit quelques reflets de visions pittoresques. Mais, à coup sûr, ils ne favorisèrent pas son éducation religieuse. En Espagne, il est élevé au collège des Nobles de Madrid. Des prêtres le dirigeaient. Sa mère, pour le soustraire à l'obligation de servir la messe, le déclare protestant, et, après avoir conté ce trait, V. Hugo ajoute qu'il n'allait pas à confesse et qu'il ne communiait pas.² Cela va de soi, puisqu'il passait pour protestant. Devant ces détails contradictoires, j'inclinerais à penser que le récit fut arrangé plus tard, pour montrer que le Hugo irréligieux de 1868³ percevait sous le jeune Victor de 1811. En tout cas, il en ressort que l'enfant échappait à l'action de ses maîtres.

Il revient à Paris en 1813. M^{me} Hugo abrita sa famille aux Feuillantines, et l'on sait par le poème xix des *Rayons et Ombres* ce qui se passait en cet asile.

¹ Victor Hugo raconté par un témoin de sa vie, chap. ii, n° 1 (édit. ROUFF).

² Ibid., chap. xx, n° 3.

³ Date de cet ouvrage.

J'eus dans ma blonde enfance, hélas ! trop éphémère,
Trois maitres, un jardin, un vieux prêtre et ma mère.

Le jardin, par la voix de ses insectes, de ses broussailles, de ses arbres verts et de ses fleurs, lui enseignait surtout l'école buissonnière. La mère avait des idées bizarres en pédagogie. V. Hugo nous raconte que, passionnée pour les romans, elle envoyait ses fils chez un vieux bouquiniste du voisinage, pour essayer les livres qu'elle pourrait lire sans ennui. Ainsi lurent-ils Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, *Faublas*. On devine qu'ils n'y puisèrent pas un sentiment religieux bien vif. Quant au vieux prêtre, c'était le Père Larivière. Que valait-il ? Les témoignages de V. Hugo sont opposés entre eux. Tantôt c'est un souvenir aimable : son maitre, "tout nourri de Tacite et d'Homère, était un doux vieillard, un prêtre à l'accent calme et bon, au regard réchauffant, naïf comme un savant, malin comme un enfant."¹ Plus tard Larivière est un Loriquet, inoculant à sa jeune intelligence la vieillesse des préjugés.² J'imagine que cette idée dut venir au poète, après coup, en 1875, pour se faire pardonner le vague catholicisme de sa jeunesse, comme s'il disait : je fus catholique, mais c'était la faute de l'éducation cléricale. Et puis, son ascension vers la lumière n'en devenait que plus méritoire. Enfin, V. Hugo nous donne de ce premier éducateur une image plus vraie, quand il écrit :

Ce Larivière était un homme instruit et qui eût pu être mieux que maitre d'école. Il sut très bien, quand il le fallut, enseigner aux deux frères le latin et le grec. C'était un ancien prêtre de l'Oratoire. La Révolution l'avait épouventé, et il s'était vu guillotiné, s'il ne se mariait pas ; il avait mieux aimé donner sa main que sa tête. Dans sa précipitation, il n'était pas allé chercher femme bien loin ; il avait pris la première qu'il avait trouvée auprès de lui, sa servante."³

Ce "vieux prêtre," avouons-le, représentait assez mal le catholicisme et dut manquer d'autorité pour l'implanter au cœur de ses élèves. En 1815, le général Hugo mit ses fils à la pension Cordier. C'était aussi "un ancien abbé qui avait jeté sa soutane aux orties . . . passionné de Jean-Jacques Rousseau."⁴ Son

¹ *Rayons et Ombres*, III, 44.

² *Actes et Paroles*, Introduction, I, 12 (1875-76).

³ *Victor Hugo raconté*, chap. vii, n° 1, p. 59.

⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. xxvi, n° 3.

professeur de philosophie s'appelait Maugras, encore un prêtre défroqué. Au contact de tels maîtres, quelles impressions religieuses purent pénétrer dans l'âme du jeune Hugo? Il n'en reçut aucune sur les genoux de sa mère, aucune sur les bancs de l'école.

C'est hors du collège, par la littérature et par ses relations royalistes qu'il se rapproche d'un certain sentiment catholique. Il fréquente au *Conservateur*, où écrivent Chateaubriand, Lamennais, de Bonald, Genoude, Polignac. C'est à leurs articles qu'il alimente sa verve naissante, et désormais c'est dans ses œuvres à peu près exclusivement qu'il nous faut étudier l'évolution de ses sentiments religieux. Les intentions catholiques sont évidentes dans le premier recueil lyrique. En tête des *Odes et Ballades*, V. Hugo écrit que "l'histoire des hommes ne présente de poésie que jugée du haut des idées monarchiques et des croyances religieuses; qu'il faut substituer aux couleurs usées et fausses de la mythologie païenne les couleurs neuves et vraies de la théogonie chrétienne" (1822). Au catholicisme est due la renaissance de la poésie:

La foi, dit-il, épure l'imagination, nous avons des poètes. . . . De même que les écrits sophistiqués et déréglés des Voltaire, des Diderot, des Helvétius ont été d'avance l'expression des innovations sociales écloses dans la décrépitude du dernier siècle, la littérature nouvelle, que l'on attaque avec tant d'instinct d'un côté et si peu de sagacité de l'autre, est l'expression anticipée de la société religieuse et monarchique qui sortira sans doute du milieu de tant d'anciens débris, de tant de ruines récentes [1824].

Quant à lui,

. . . . Soit que mon luth pleure ou menace ou console,
Mes chants volent à Dieu comme l'aigle au soleil,¹

et il invite Lamartine à marcher avec lui et à confesser le nom de Jéhovah. En général il semble bien que dans les *Odes et Ballades* retentisse l'écho d'un certain catholicisme.² Est-il sincère? Non, assurément. Aucun germe n'avait été déposé dans son âme par l'éducation première; et depuis, il n'avait eu ni le loisir ni le goût d'études religieuses solidement menées. Tout au moins, les

¹ *Odes et Ballades*, XI, 10.

² Cf. "Moïse sur le Nil," "La Liberté," "Dévouement.

témoignages manquent. Il reste donc qu'inaugurant ce rôle de cristal sonore qu'il devait remplir toute sa vie, il donne à ces jeunes essais un air de catholicisme, parce que c'est l'air du jour. Remarquez en effet que dans les passages de la Préface, cités plus haut, il ne sépare pas les intentions monarchiques des visées catholiques. Royalisme et catholicisme étaient plus ou moins liés. V. Hugo partisan du premier avec ferveur devait chanter le second avec une ferveur égale. D'autant que son guide, le Maître, Chateaubriand, lui offrait le modèle de cette union, modèle docilement suivi. J'ai dit tout à l'heure qu'à cette époque les *Odes* ne sont guère qu'un reflet des opinions du grand homme et de son groupe. C'est pourquoi l'accent plus ou moins religieux de ces poèmes me paraît faire simplement écho aux sentiments catholiques de ces personnages, de leur milieu. Donc religion de convenance pour une bonne part. En outre, le catholicisme littéraire de Chateaubriand ouvrait des sources de pittoresque bien plus que des sources de foi. Il ramenait la pensée aux souvenirs bibliques, aux martyrs tombés sous la dent des fauves, dans le cirque de Néron, au décor religieux du moyen-âge, à un christianisme de chapelles et d'ermites. Donc chez V. Hugo, christianisme d'imagination; aussi n'imprime-t-il aucune trace profonde dans son esprit. En 1828 il écrit *Marion Delorme*, dont la pensée fondamentale est que toutes les ignominies disparaissent devant un amour sincère, légitime ou non; ce qui ne témoigne pas, je crois, d'un grand sens catholique ni chrétien. Une année après, il publie les *Orientales* où, parmi les tours de force du versificateur, règne à peu près le seul matérialisme ou le sensualisme d'imagination. Et si je note cette tendance, c'est qu'elle sera forcément fatale à ce catholicisme sans racines, tout en vernis. Il craquera plus sûrement encore au souffle d'indépendance qui agite déjà cette âme naturellement révolutionnaire. Dans les trois préfaces des *Odes*, V. Hugo garde la neutralité entre classiques et romantiques; "il ignore même profondément ce que c'est que le genre classique et le genre romantique" (1824). Mais il incline à l'indépendance, ce qui est du romantisme. Dans les *Orientales* triomphe la fantaisie fièrement revendiquée à l'avant-propos comme un droit du poète. Je n'ai pas besoin de

rappeler la préface de *Cromwell*, où il se dresse contre le despotisme des règles et des codes. Mais voici où je veux en venir. V. Hugo n'ignorait pas "que la main courroucée qui délivre le mot délivre la pensée." Le légitime orgueil qui a proclamé la révolte littéraire suscitera bientôt et infailliblement la révolte contre le dogmatisme de la foi. Et c'est ici que s'affirme la ressemblance ou la sympathie secrète avec le protestantisme. Il écrit dans la préface des *Feuilles d'automne*: "Voyez le XVI^e siècle. C'est une immense époque pour la société humaine. . . . C'est le passage de l'unité religieuse et politique à la liberté de conscience et de cité, de l'orthodoxie au schisme, de la discipline à l'examen, de la grande synthèse sacerdotale qui a fait le moyen-âge à l'analyse philosophique qui va le dissoudre." Pour lui ce travail de décomposition catholique a commencé. Dans une pièce fameuse, la *Prière pour tous*, il suggère à son enfant une prière assez singulière pour son âge:

Ah ! demande à ce père auguste
Qui sourit à ton oraison,
Pourquoi l'arbre étouffe l'arbuste,
Et qui fait du juste à l'injuste
Chanceler l'humaine raison, etc.

Ce doute s'affirmait déjà en deux pièces antérieurement datées:

Tout chemine ici-bas vers un but de mystère.
Où va l'esprit dans l'homme ? Où va l'homme sur terre ?
Seigneur ! Seigneur ! Où va la terre dans le ciel ?
Que faire et que penser ? Nier, douter ou croire ?¹

Dans la *Pente de la Réverie* (mai 1830) V. Hugo apparaît sondant la double mer du temps et de l'espace, d'où il revient, haletant, éperdu, pour avoir entrevu au fond le mystère éternel.

Les Chants du Crépuscule publiés quatre ans plus tard (1835) marquent une étape encore vers le scepticisme complet, à l'égard de la foi catholique. Ce qu'il veut peindre dans ce recueil, dit-il, c'est un étrange état crépusculaire de l'âme . . . la brume au-dehors, l'incertitude au-dedans. V. Hugo constate en lui le doute,

Près du besoin de croire un désir de nier,
Et l'esprit qui ricane auprès du cœur qui pleure.²

¹ "A mes amis L. B. et S. B., mai 1830;" la *Prière pour tous* est de juin 1830.

² xxviii.

Il indique même deux au trois causes vraisemblables de cet état; d'abord ce je ne sais quoi d'à demi-éclairé qui l'environne, c'est-à-dire l'atmosphère irrégulière du temps qui pénétra son âme plus que toute autre, en sa qualité de cristal sonore, d'écho retentissant de toutes les voix du siècle. Ailleurs il insinue peut-être une cause plus intime du doute par ce vers:

C'est notre mal à tous, enfants des *passions*.

Surtout si l'on en rapproche le poème de la Cloche.¹ Comme sur la cloche, auguste et sévère surface, des passants ont parfois creusé des mots impurs, ainsi les passions ont rayé son âme, vierge métal. Mais la vraie cause c'est l'esprit d'indépendance, celui qui naît du libre examen. Un catholique, en effet, tremblant dans sa foi, interrogerait ses sources, l'Écriture, la tradition, l'autorité, enfin ses bases surnaturelles, puisqu'elle n'en offre pas d'autres. V. Hugo les rejette. Il interroge l'histoire mais contre l'Église, et par là il offre un trait plus personnel de ressemblance avec le protestantisme. On sait que, parmi les dissensions doctrinales, la haine de l'Église et de ses institutions, habita longtemps, sinon toujours, l'âme des réformés. L'histoire de la Réforme n'est-elle pas souvent l'histoire de cette haine ou, si l'on veut, de cette lutte contre l'esprit catholique? Or, ce sentiment d'hostilité remplit aussi l'œuvre de V. Hugo à partir des *Châtiments*. Elle éclate de façon retentissante à propos de politique. Déjà, en 1841, son discours de réception à l'Académie française révélait un engouement révolutionnaire assez inattendu. Cela d'ailleurs ne l'empêche point de briguer et d'accepter la pairie en 1845, de fréquenter assidûment à la Cour, chez Guizot et parmi le monde officiel. Au fait, le règne de Louis-Philippe pouvait se réclamer de la Révolution. Chanter celle-ci, servir celui-là n'offrait rien de contradictoire. Dans le même temps, V. Hugo prête l'oreille aux théories sociales de P. Leroux, de Cabet, se laisse pénétrer d'un socialisme nuageux dont nous retrouvons l'écho dans les *Misérables*, enfin glisse de plus en plus aux idées anti-catholiques. Le 13 janvier 1848, à l'Assemblée constituante, il célèbre encore, et avec une illusion bien naïve, "le pape libéral," "le maître des consciences devenu le serviteur de la raison," Pie IX. Mais le 15 octobre

¹ xxxii: A Louis B.

1849, sur la question romaine, il parle à la Législative en adversaire de la papauté qui ne connaît plus sa mission, de Rome qui n'est pas libre, de l'inquisition, de l'esprit clérical. La haine de l'Église lui sert de pont pour passer des idées conservatrices aux sentiments révolutionnaires. Le rétablissement de Pie IX fut, dit-il, "la clarté définitive" qui le fit radical-socialiste.¹ Dès lors cette haine ne l'a plus quitté. Elle s'alimente aux excitations politiques du temps. Les adhésions catholiques à Napoléon III, après le coup d'État, l'exaspèrent et servent à des attaques furieuses dans les *Chatiments*. Montalembert bave, accoudé sur l'autel, VII, 13; Veillot est Escobar, Patouillet, un pied-plat, triple gueux, cafard, IV, 4, 7; les Jésuites sont des ambitieux sinistres, des étouffeurs de liberté et de raison, I, 7; les sombres amants du mal, en rut devant le crime, qui dans leurs écoles dégradées mettent à l'esprit frémissant un linceul, un baïllon aux idées, V, 10, n° 2; les évêques sont des Iscariotes; la honte s'appelle Sibour. Ces hommes, revêtus de l'étole, pour être cardinaux, pour être sénateurs, pour avoir des palais, pour ceindre une mitre dorée, pour boire du bon vin, vendent leur Dieu, I, 6, 8. Pie IX n'est qu'un suppôt du diable, V, 2, un fusilleur, I, 12, un tyran II, 2. C'est la bête noire de V. Hugo; il est à ses yeux plus criminel que les soldats, les capitaines, les juges, les rois, puisque, au dire du poète, il approuva tous leurs crimes.² En vérité le Pape, j'allais écrire le papisme, lui fait horreur. Dans une pièce de l'*Année terrible*,³ il repousse avec emportement le catholicisme romain, dont il rejette ce que précisément la Réforme répudie comme un anthropomorphisme grossier ou des corruptions de la foi primitive.

Quant au rôle historique de l'Église, dans le passé, V. Hugo le néglige ou à peu près. Au moyen-âge, dans la *Légende des siècles*, il consacre sans doute cinq sections ou chapitres: l'Islam, le Cycle héroïque chrétien, les Chevaliers errants, les Trônes d'Orient, Ratbert. Mais l'influence catholique, si considérable pourtant à cette époque, lui échappe ou lui apparaît désastreuse. Sur ce point, les trois séries (1859, 1877, 1883) se ressemblent

¹ *Actes et Paroles*, Vol. I, p. 292. Cf. Introduction, p. 26.

² *Légende des siècles*, 3^e série, xx.

³ Novembre 9.

avec un peu plus d'âpreté dans les deux dernières, le poète vieillit en rajournant toujours sa haine vivace. Pour représenter la chrétienté, il y a Ratbert, histoire d'un roi qui commet une spoliation criminelle sur les conseils d'un prêtre. Il y a Welf, castellan d'Asbor, vieux burgrave en lutte contre le roi et le pape, et que sa bonté livre à ses ennemis. Ambition, intrigues, luxure, cupidité, c'est l'Église, du pape au dernier moine.

A la suite des savants germaniques dont l'exégèse rationaliste a triomphé quelque temps au XIX^e siècle, ou du moins comme eux, il considère, il admire même dans le Christ un doux philosophe, un sage divin, mais non un Dieu. Ou bien, sous l'influence protestante d'Outre-Rhin, il incline parfois sa pensée au panthéisme. Je ne veux point citer le *Satyre*, dont la conclusion est évidemment panthéiste. Ce poème symbolise la Renaissance, beaucoup plus qu'il n'exprime les opinions de V. Hugo. Mais les passages ne sont pas rares où s'affirme cette doctrine. Le mot de la pièce: *Tout le Passé et tout l'Avenir*, "le ciel rempli d'étoiles, ce dedans du crâne de Dieu," me paraît être un peu plus qu'une image bizarre. Ceci est encore plus significatif à propos de la nature:

Toute sa foule étant elle même, elle est seule;
Monde, elle est la nature; âme, on l'appelle Dieu.
Tout être, quel qu'il soit, du gouffre est le milieu.

Dans *l'Abîme*, l'Infini dit: "L'être multiple vit dans mon unité sombre." N'est-ce qu'une imprudence de langage? Mais voici la même pensée en prose réfléchie:

Par Dieu nous entendons l'infini vivant. Le moi latent de l'infini patent, voilà Dieu. Dieu est l'invisible évident. Le monde dense, c'est Dieu. Dieu dilaté, c'est le monde. . . . Dieu se manifeste à nous au premier degré à travers la vie de l'univers et au deuxième degré à travers la pensée de l'homme. La deuxième manifestation n'est pas moins sacrée que la première. La première s'appelle la Nature, la deuxième s'appelle l'Art. . . . L'esprit humain a une cime. Cette cime est l'idéal. Dieu y descend, l'homme y monte.¹

Je pourrais multiplier ce genre de citations; je n'en abuserai pas d'ailleurs pour conclure au panthéisme formel du poète. Sans doute, il est certain que sa pensée oscilla entre le panthéisme et

¹ William Shakespeare, 1^{re} partie, 1 et 2.

la croyance à un Dieu personnel. Il affirme celle-ci dans les *Contemplations*, il la développe à travers la *Légende des siècles* et dans *Religions et religion*. Jusqu'à son dernier jour le poète proclame énergiquement sa foi, au point de préférer l'enfer à l'athéisme:

Rien! Oh! reprends ce rien, gouffre, et rends-moi Satan.¹

Ce que je veux pourtant constater, ce qu'on peut constater avec moi par les citations faites plus haut, c'est que le panthéisme séduisit par instants l'intelligence de V. Hugo, et cela, je puis le croire raisonnablement, au contact, si éloigné qu'on le veuille, de la philosophie allemande. En voici du reste une dernière preuve. Dans son livre sur *V. Hugo, philosophe*,² M. Renouvier observe qu'une idée originale revient souvent dans les œuvres du poète, dans les dernières surtout: c'est l'idée du devoir, sûre lumière de l'esprit et vrai guide de la vie.

Homme, ne te crois pas plongé dans l'inconnu;
Tu connais tout, sachant que tu dois être juste.

* * * * *

L'ombre est une descente obscure de prodiges.
Sans cesse l'inconnu passe devant nos yeux.

Mais ombre, qu'est-il donc de stable, sous les cieux?

La justice, dit l'ombre. Aucun vent ne l'emporte.

* * * * *

Tu dis: "Je vois le mal, et je veux le remède.

Je cherche le levier; et je suis Archimède."

—Le remède est ceci: Fais le bien. Le levier

Le voici: tout aimer et ne rien envier.

Homme, veux-tu trouver le vrai? Cherche le juste.³

Or le devoir, source de lumière, et ce qui se lie avec le devoir, la douleur, cause de mérite, fonction divine, ce sont là des idées kantienne. V. Hugo, malgré ses contradictions évolutionnistes ou panthéistiques, a toujours proclamé les trois grandes thèses de la raison pratique: immortalité, liberté, personnalité divine, avec sa conséquence, le devoir. Voilà le fond de son âme. Il est incontestable qu'un rapprochement avec la philosophie de Kant est légitime, et par suite avec l'idée protestante.

Je sais d'ailleurs que sur ces données il ne faut point presser les conclusions. On peut sans paradoxe soutenir, et nous l'avons

¹ *Religions et religion*.

² Pp. 301-7.

³ *Religions et religion*, II, Philosophie.

fait ailleurs,¹ que le romantisme, à ses débuts, favorisa quelques sentiments catholiques, bien qu'il soit plus juste de prétendre que ce fut un catholicisme d'étiquette, de décor ou d'imagination. On peut dire encore que libre examen, libre pensée, émancipation de l'individu, rationalisme, que tout cela n'est pas autre chose que l'esprit révolutionnaire ou moderne, qu'ainsi V. Hugo est tout bonnement l'écho sonore de son temps. J'y souscris volontiers, mais à condition d'admettre que cet esprit moderne est né de l'esprit protestant. Et alors cela revient à mon point de vue, le vrai, je crois. Chateaubriand a écrit que la littérature nouvelle venait de l'émigration et de l'exil. Il avait raison. En Angleterre, par exemple, vécurent Rivarol, Delille, Fontanes, Chateaubriand lui-même, qui tira profit de ce séjour. Il traduisit Milton, lut Shakespeare, Ossian, et s'intéressa aux idées de ce pays jusqu'à écrire un *Essai sur la littérature anglaise*, avouant qu'il était grandement redevable à celle-ci. L'Allemagne fut le refuge de Narbonne, Gérando, Camille Jordan, Charles de Villers, Quatremère de Quincy. Ils lièrent connaissance avec ses génies glorieux, Wieland, Klopstock, Goethe, Schiller, Schelling, traduisirent leurs œuvres, publièrent sous le Directoire des gazettes, comme le *Spectateur du Nord* ou les *Archives littéraires de l'Europe*, dans le but de propager en France la littérature et la philosophie allemandes. A la tête du mouvement littéraire brillent des écrivains cosmopolites: Bonstetten, Benjamin Constant, Sismondi, M^{me} de Staël, tous imprégnés de pensée germanique. Le romantisme est né en grande partie de ces influences. Par les œuvres anglaises, connues à travers Rousseau, par les œuvres allemandes ensuite, l'action étrangère et protestante a pesé sur toute la génération romantique. Aussi, selon le mot de M. Brunetière, "le romantisme fut une rébellion contre l'esprit d'une race latinisée à fond,"² c'est-à-dire catholicisée.³

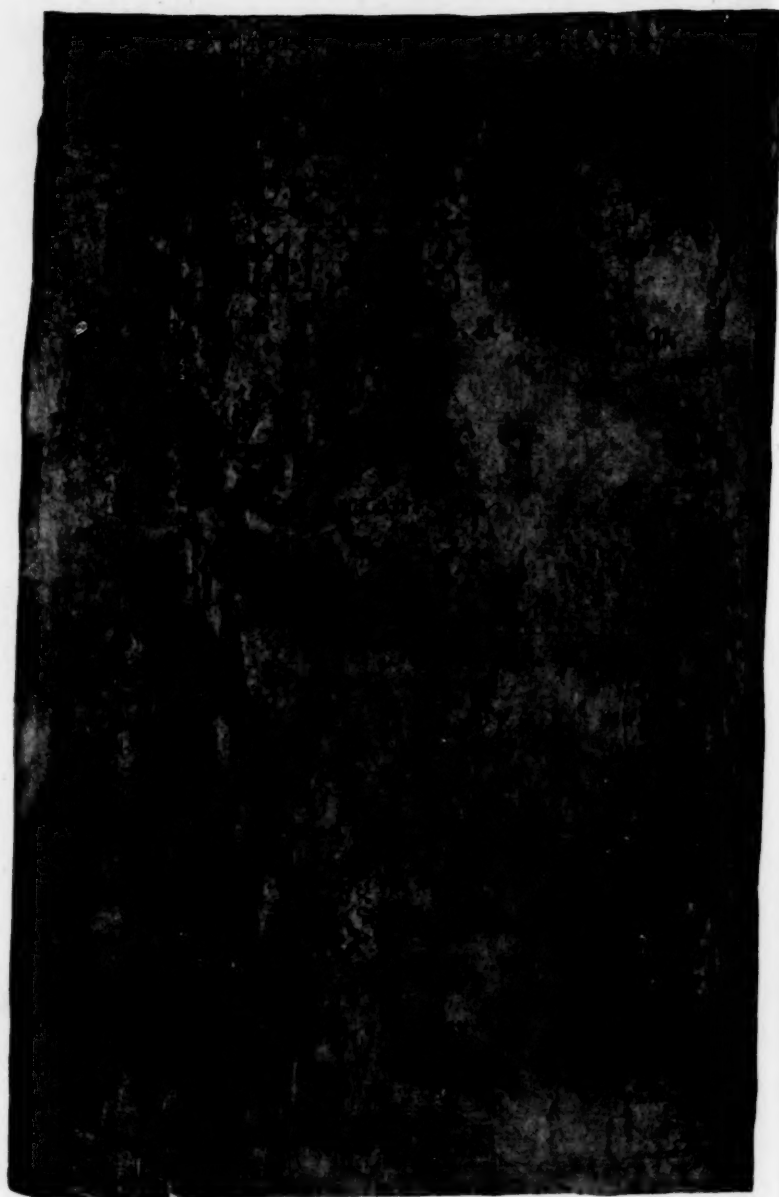
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¹ Cf. encore E. DUBEDOUT, *Le sentiment chrétien dans la poésie romantique* (édit. Pousielgue).

² Cf. J. TEXTE: *J.-J. Rousseau et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire*, pp. 429-31, 452.

³ Nous reproduisons ici, pour une bonne part, un article publié par nous, il y a quelque temps, dans la *Revue chrétienne*.



HICKES'S ADDITIONS TO THE RUNIC POEM.¹

IN his *Thesaurus* (1705, Vol. I, p. 135) Hickes gives a copy of the Old-English Runic Poem from the manuscript *Cottoniana Otho*, B 10, which was burned in 1731. As the manuscript is gone, we shall always be dependent upon Hickes's printed copy, unless some manuscript closely related to *Cot. Otho* should turn up.

The chief question that presents itself is this: Did Hickes find in *Cot. Otho* all that he gives us in his transcription of the Runic Poem? And if he added to it, where did he get what he added? It is my object in this paper to answer these questions as far as the material at present accessible to me will permit.

Hickes arranged the poem so that the account of each rune begins a new line, and he placed the runes in a column in the left margin, so that each rune stands opposite the line in which it is treated of. Our knowledge of other Old-English manuscripts makes us doubt that this was so in the manuscript of the Runic Poem. The column of runes is preceded by a column of phonological values and is followed by a column of rune-names. In the case of some of the runes, one or more variant forms are given, and at the bottom of the column are added certain runes that are not dealt with in the poem.² It is, *a priori*, very unlikely that all this grammatical lore was in the manuscript of the Runic Poem. The way that Hickes writes the names makes it appear that putting them in was an afterthought with him; indeed, I believe I can trace them to their source, but I refrain from saying

¹This paper is accompanied by two reproductions: (1) Page 10 of *Cottoniana Domit.*, A 9, slightly reduced from a photograph by Dossetter, London, and (2) the left edge of page 135 of the first volume of HICKES'S *Thesaurus*, from a photograph by Randall, Ann Arbor. The reader will find it necessary to make constant reference to these reproductions.

²The *ea*-rune is the last one that has a verse. In some unaccountable way, WÜLKER (*Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie*, Vol. I, p. 336) gives Ψ for Υ , just as he does in the Love Letter, p. 308. He omits some of the variants, totally misrepresents the *p*-rune and the second *te*-rune (*coh*), and, in general, represents the runes with such types as the printer chanced to have in stock, regardless of the forms in the original. I may state here that in this paper I am still using types cut by myself. But I take pleasure in announcing that, through the enlightened generosity of Mr Junius Beal of Ann Arbor, American scholars and American printers will soon have access to types that will enable them to print any ordinary inscription, whether Greek, Latin, or Runic.

more until the necessary material is in my hands. Of course, it is possible that the names stood above the runes in the manuscript of the Runic Poem, having been inserted by some later scribe, but before Hickes's day. As for the phonological values, the variant runes, and the extra runes below, it is easy to show that all this was not in the manuscript of the Runic Poem, but was taken from the manuscript *Cottoniana Domit.*, A 9, and that by Hickes himself.

With the futhorc¹ of this manuscript we know Hickes was familiar,² for he copied it and printed it on the very next page to the one on which he gives us the Runic Poem. Hickes's copy is reproduced by Stephens, Vol. I, p. 102. A better copy was made by Madden for Stephens, and was reproduced by the latter on page 830. As I shall deal with this futhorc in detail in my forthcoming volume on *The Old-English Runic Futhorcs and Alphabets*, I shall here call attention to only the more important of its characteristics.³ The futhorc is written in three lines and is the work of two scribes. The original writer set out to give only the runes, with phonological values below; but when he got to the end of the second line, instead of writing *ea*, he wrote *ear*, the name of the rune. And in the third line he continued to write the names below the runes, and the phonological values above. From this it would appear that he had two sources for his furthorc: (1) One that had the runes and below them their values, and that ended in *ea*. This is the stage of development of the Old-English futhorc that we find reflected on the Thames knife; there, too, we find the strange forms γ^4 and φ for \mathfrak{h} and \mathfrak{x} . (2) One that had runes for *io* and the differentiated velars *k* and *g*, as well as the spurious runes *cweorth* and *stan*. This furthorc apparently

¹ In this paper I shall distinguish between a runic futhorc (in which the runes stand in the usual order: *f, u, h, o, r, e*, etc.) and a runic alphabet (in which the runes are arranged in the A B C-order).

² It may be that he was entirely dependent upon the copy sent him by Wanley; cf. WANLEY, *Cot.*, p. 239, and STEPHENS, Vol. II, p. 829, bot.

³ It seems to have escaped notice that the parchment is a palimpsest, at least so far as the lower half of the page is concerned. Under .*e. ethel. i. patria*, etc., I can read the beginning of a futhorc, and below that a runic alphabet, but not the one of Hickes's that Stephens refers to, p. 831, top.

⁴ I am here going on the supposition that we may trust Stephens's very positive statements (S, p. 159) of the observations made by him and Franks, in opposition to those made by Gosch for Wimmer (*Die Runenschrift*, p. 82).

had the values above the runes, and the names below. In copying the values, the scribe first wrote the name *mg* instead of *ng*, but he then erased enough of the *z* to turn it into a dot or two dots (cf. the reproduction), similar to those about the other letters, and partially erased the one he had already made between *l* and *mg*.

The second scribe undertook to supply names for all the runes, squeezing them in above the writing of the first scribe. With both writers, acquaintance with the runes was at second hand only, a sort of antiquarian knowledge. It would appear that the later scribe knew them only from a copy in which they were arranged in A B C-order (as originally on the lower half of the page, cf. p. 2, footnote 3) and so had difficulty in identifying them when arranged, as here, in the futhorc order. It is strange that he did not avail himself of the aid that the first scribe's written phonological values offered him; in two cases, indeed, he undertook to change them. Thus he takes *ᛞ* to be *dæg*, and *ᛞ* to be *mann*, and changes the underwritten correct *m* and *d* to *d* and *m*. The tilted *ᛚ* he supposes to be an *s* and assigns it the name *sigel*. The odd *s*-rune *ᛚ* he first took to be *ᛚ* and began to write the name *feoh*, but stopped after writing *fe*.¹ The name *tir* he assigns to *ᛚ* as well as to *ᛚ*, and the name *inc* to *ᛚ* as well as to *ᛚ*. The similarity of the names and values of *ᛚ* *ᛚ* *ᛞ* *ᛚ* caused him much trouble. The first he leaves without name, assigning *iolc* to *calc*, the second we have seen him take for an *s*-rune, the third he gives the name of the fourth, and this he leaves without a name. In the last line he got nothing at all right.

There are variants, in the original hand, written above the runes for *h*, *s*, and *æ*. The first of these is an *h*-rune whose erect shafts are near together and whose cross-bars extend beyond the shafts. It is preceded by *&vel* and between the top of the *l* and the rune is *.a.*² This *a* is exactly like those made by the

¹ The *f* is more curved than the other *f*'s of the second hand and backs up against the square dot that the first scribe put at the side of the variant rune above. Unfortunately, there is at this spot an imperfection in the half-tone reproduction, whereby the lower limb of the rune is shortened and a part of the *f*, as also the preceding dot, obliterated.

² There was once something written where the second dot now stands, that extended above it; I cannot make it out. The *&* is faint but quite distinct in the photograph, though it is hardly discernible in the half-tone reproduction. It was probably written and then erased by the scribe who afterwards wrote *vel*.

second scribe and was probably made by him. Whether or not he wrote the *&vel*, I cannot say. He evidently took the variant *h*-rune at first for an *ƿ*, but decided that that was wrong and so tried to erase the *·a·* and the *vel* and, in so doing, partially erased the adjoining portion of the *h*-rune. Thus a careless glance catches only one shaft with two cross-bars (cf. reproduction). Between the two runes for *æ*, the second scribe has written *pro*, meaning that the upper may be used for the lower. These two forms are found side by side in *Galba*, A2 (Hickes, 3, tab. VI.=Stephens, No. 13). The name *gear* was first written with a letter after the *e* that has generally been taken for an *o* but appears to me to be an *r*; this letter is underdotted and an *a* is written above it. The name *ac* was first written *ac* and then changed to *ar*, or *vice versa*. In the list of names below, in a later hand, we find *·a· ar ·i· reuerētia*. The would-be names inserted above the third line, by the second hand, I shall consider at another time; they have no interest for our present study.

Hickes's copy¹ of this futhorc (on the back of the page on which he prints the Runic Poem) reveals the following inaccuracies and errors. The remnant of the variant *h*-rune is placed by the side of the regular rune. The variant rune for *s* (as also the following *fe*) is omitted and for the one in the line the letter *R* is substituted, probably because Hickes misinterpreted the long *s* below as *r*, on account of the similarity existing between these letters in the Old-English hand. The variant *æ*-rune is omitted, so that the word *pro* appears as the name of the usual rune. The name *inc* over *l* is reproduced as *eac*. The name *lagu* is reproduced as *lagir*.

Madden's copy too, as reported by Stephens (2, p. 830), has numerous errors. It is evident that practically all of these are not due to Stephens but originated with Madden. The variant *h*-rune is ignored. The name over *l* is read as *iac* instead of *inc*. *peord* is read *peord*. The letters *fe* over the *s*-rune are conjectured to be *co* or *et*. *lagu* is read *lagir*. *ng* is read *ing* (cf. p. 3 above). *mann* (the *·* is one of the two dots about the upper

¹I have not deemed it necessary to reproduce this. GRIMM's reproduction (*Ueber deutsche Runen*, Tab. III. 2) is practically perfect.

		E Co
f	^{cen} F	býþ f
u	^{up} N	býþ a
ð	^{ðoðe} þ	ne
o	^o þ	býþ ð
n	^{nað} R	mar
e	^{cen} h	býþ o
3	^{syru} X	coj
uu	^{pen} pp	býþ e
h	^{haest} h+n	uþa
n	^{nyð} +x	býþ c
i	^{ir} I	hi s
3c	^{3c} þ	gumer
eo	^{eh} 3I	anb
p	^{pen} h	ne bpu
x	^{colhx} þ	j bl
		býþ hj
		pa.
		býþ n
		hæl
		býþ o
		cyp
		býþ 3
		beoþ
		býþ u
		unt
		býþ r
		blip
		reccay
		bne

r	^{risel} 4	re m
z	^z ↑	hib
b	^{beqac} B	býþ t
e	^{ch} M	3er
m	^d M	býþ b
l	^{an} M	tig
ms	^{an} M	býþ p
oe	^{an} M	lege
ð	^{an} M	býþ o
a	^{an} M	pop
ue	^{an} M	býþ le
y	^{an} M	re :
lo	^{an} M	pæf æj
ean	^{an} M	3ep
cyeond	^{an} M	býþ o
g	^{an} M	on
	^{an} M	býþ b
	^{an} M	to
	^{an} M	býþ on
	^{an} M	bæþ
	^{an} M	bip of
	^{an} M	reol
	^{an} M	býþ æþ
	^{an} M	lic on
	^{an} M	býþ ea
	^{an} M	pætne
	^{an} M	býþ egle e
	^{an} M	ceofan t






Stan
 3c
 3p
 3

æ-rune) is misread as *manis* ("plainly written," as Stephens says). The upper æ-rune is misinterpreted by Stephens as "an old Scandinavian type of the M." The application of *pro* is erroneous. *cweorð* is incorrectly given as *cwæorð*. The *cweorð*- and *calc*-runes are supplied with elaborate ceriphs. The K over the *calc*-rune is read *ic*. Stephens erroneously says, "R wanting." The *r*-rune is in its proper place, but the R that Hickes substituted (see p. 4 above) for the two forms of the *s*-rune does, of course, not appear.

There are two or three peculiarities about the futhorc of *Cot. Domit.* The first hand gave the *j*-rune the value *ge* and, as we saw above, wrote the name *ear*, instead of the value *ea*, under the *ea*-rune, and at first wrote *ing* under the *ng*-rune but later tried to change the *i* into *·* or *:*, though not very successfully. The second scribe gave the *w*-rune the name *wen* and, as we saw above, made numerous mistakes in identifying the runes.

Now, the values given in the Runic Poem coincide with those in *Cot. Domit.* even to the peculiarities pointed out above, namely, *ge*, the apparent *ing*, and *ear*. Even the would-be corrections of the later hand were copied by Hickes, and that with the identical spellings *deg* and *mann*, though he has *dæg* and [*m*]an in the column of names. The slight divergencies that appear are easily explained. Of the three values *z se st* given in *Cot. Domit.* for *stan*, Hickes has, for lack of room, omitted *se*. He was evidently in doubt concerning the K given in *Cot. Domit.* as the value of the *calc*-rune. In his copy of *Cot. Domit.* (Vol. I, p. 136), he correctly renders this as K, but as there is a horizontal line drawn through it in the manuscript, he gives the rune no value at all in his copy of the Runic Poem.¹

But not only did Hickes transfer the phonological values from *Cot. Domit.* to the Runic Poem, he also got from the same source the variant runes that he gives in his transcript of the Runic Poem. This is true of the first *w*-rune, the first and the

¹ In this way Sievers (PAUL'S *Grundriss*, Vol. I, plate "Runenalphabet") was misled into supposing that the rune in *cweorð*  above the *calc*-rune  was a repetition of the rune in *tir*  *ear* just above it, and that *cweorð*  really belonged to .

second *h*-runes, the first *n*-rune,¹ the first *h*-rune (†), the first *ng*-rune, as well as all the runes that have no corresponding verses in the Runic Poem. It is interesting to observe that the runes that were taken over from *Cot. Domit.* are in all cases the first ones. It is evident that Hickes copied the Runic Poem with the runes in it in a column. He then prefixed the variant runes from *Cot. Domit.*, just as he prefixed the values. But the engraver (or Hickes himself, in making copy for the printer), not wishing to let the extra runes project at the left, moved the original runes a little to the right. Of the variant runes transferred from *Cot. Domit.*, the most interesting is the supposed ‡ *h*. We have seen that this form is due to Hickes's misreading of a half-erased ‡ and that, therefore, no such rune ever existed, either in the Runic Poem or in *Cot. Domit.*, though it has figured in all books on runes since Hickes's day.

It is clear that the rune-names that Hickes gives in his copy of the Runic Poem were not taken from *Cot. Domit.*, whatever their origin. There is, however, one exception to this. A glance at the reproduction makes it clear that Hickes (or his engraver) placed over the *w*-rune that was taken from *Cot. Domit.* the name that it has in that manuscript, that is, *wen*, and that he started to write over the rune from the Runic Poem the name it had in the Runic Poem, but that he did not write more than the first consonant.² How this happened may be explained in various ways. What is of importance to us is the fact that the name *wen* was introduced into the Runic Poem from *Cot. Domit.* The name is found nowhere else and has therefore no more authority than its occurrence in *Cot. Domit.* gives it. But we have seen that it was inserted into *Cot. Domit.* by the second scribe, a man who has shown that he was grossly ignorant of runes and runic matters. Under the circumstances, we are justified in assuming that he wrote *wen* for *wyn* under the influence of the preceding *cen*. Some years ago, Sievers showed (*Anglia*, Vol. XIII, pp. 3 ff.) that the Runic Poem and all other texts containing the

¹ The peculiar upper back-stroke seen in Hickes's reproduction is due to his misinterpretation of a crease in the parchment.

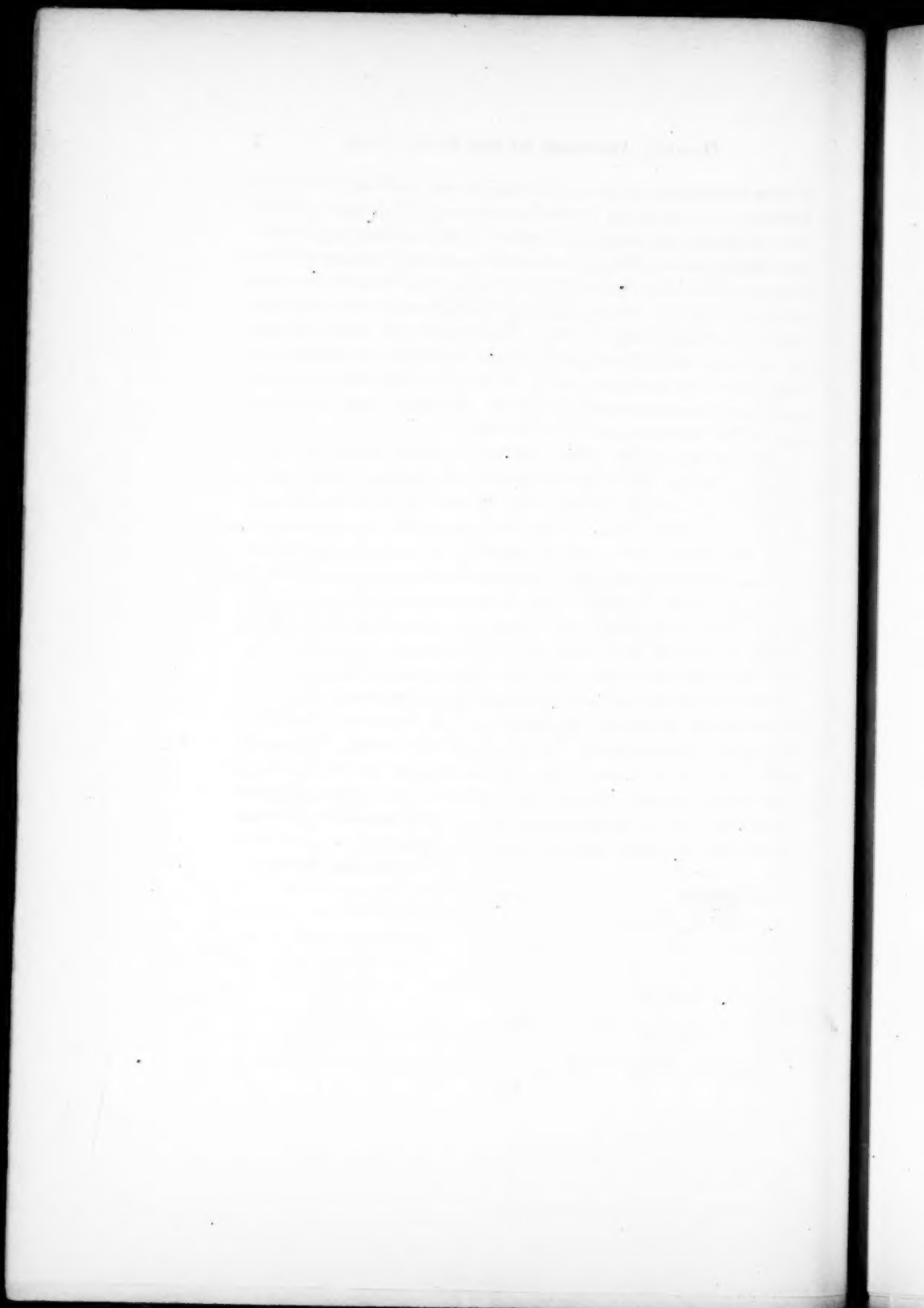
² All this is concealed by the disarrangements that WIMMER introduced (p. 85) into his copy of HICKES. Compare also his systematizing treatment of the latter part of the futhorc.

w-rune demand the name *wyn*, Gothic *uwinne*, and that this must, therefore, have been the original name of the rune; but, in deference to the occurrence of the form *wen* "in mehreren ags. runen-alphabeten," Sievers concedes that this name had currency later. I do not know what Sievers had in mind when he said the form *wen* was found in several Old-English futhorcs. We have seen that it is found only in *Cot. Domit.* and the Runic Poem; furthermore, that it was copied into the latter from the former, and that it owes its existence in the former to a late scribe who was guilty of numerous glaring errors. We may now, therefore, regard this specter name as finally laid.

Hitherto the forms, values, and names found in Hickes's transcription of the Runic Poem have been assigned chief importance in runic studies, for example, by both Wimmer (p. 85) and Sievers (as cited above). The bearing of the present study is this: The Runic Poem can be appealed to as evidence on runic matters only in regard to the right-hand forms (and perhaps most of the names) of those runes that have corresponding verses in the poem. The remaining runes and the phonological spellings added by Hickes have only so much value as they have in the *Cot. Domit.* manuscript. For the same reasons, the alphabet constructed by Hickes from the runes given by him as appearing in the Runic Poem, and published in his *Thesaurus* (Vol. III, tab. 2., No. 2, = Stephens, Vol. I, p. 104, No. 16) has no greater value. In other words, I have removed from the Runic Poem most of the rubbish that became attached to it in the process of its transmission to us, and which has been preserved, with more or less care, by those who have edited the poem.

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MILTON AND OVID.

OF course, all or most commentators on the proem of the seventh book of *Paradise Lost*—that is on the part of it, ll. 30–39, that describes the death of Orpheus—refer to the opening passage of the eleventh book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; but I do not think anyone has perceived how very closely Milton in this instance follows Ovid—how evidently he had Ovid's verses running in his head when he wrote that description, and in his own wonderful way reproduced and bettered the very picture drawn by a poet whose writings he knew intimately and highly appreciated—more highly perhaps than they are commonly appreciated nowadays.

The lines that specially concern us are these:

Still govern thou my song,
Urania, and fit audience find, though few;
But drive far off the barbarous dissonance
Of Bacchus and his revellers, the race
Of that wild rout that tore the Thracian bard
In Rhodope, where woods and rocks had ears
To rapture, till the savage clamour drowned
Both harp and voice; nor could the Muse defend
Her son. So fail not thou who thee implores;
For thou art heavenly, she an empty dream.

Ovid portrays the Bacchic rout in all its frenzy. There rush before us

Nurus Ciconum tectae lymphata ferinis
Pectora velleribus

(Ciconian wives their frantic breasts covered with the skins of wild beasts) and we hear their furious uproar, and how it drowned Orpheus's sweet notes.

Ingens
Clamor et infracto Berecynthia tibia cornu,
Tympanaque, et plausus et Bacchei ululatus
Obstrepuere sono citharae.

(A vast shouting and the Berecynian pipe with its cusp of horn, and the timbrels, and the clappings, and the Bacchic yellings overpowered the sound of the lute.)

Till this uproar prevailed, Ovid tells us stones flung at the lyrist had not the heart to harm him; but then the Mænads advance in a ferocious circle and turn on him with hands already stained

with the blood of the countless birds and snakes and wild creatures that had been listening with astonishment to his song. On every side and with all sorts of weapons they assault him; and at last, having departed for a moment to equip themselves with yet more implements—hoes and heavy rakes and long mattocks—

Ad vatis fata recurrunt,
Tendentemque manus atque illo tempore primum
Irrita dicentem, nec quicquam voce moventem,
Sacrilegae perimunt; perque os, pro Juppiter! illud,
Auditum saxis intellectumque ferarum
Sensibus in ventos anima exhalata recessit.

(They run back to make an end of the bard; and him stretching out his hands toward them, and on that occasion for the first time speaking vainly and moving nothing with his voice, sacriliciously they slay; and through those lips, Oh! Jupiter! that stones heard and the senses of wild beasts understood, his soul breathed out and passed into the air.)

Observe Milton's "Thracian bard" and Ovid's "Threicius vates;" Milton's "where woods and rocks had ears to rapture," with Ovid's detail of the stone that would not hit the harper so long as his harping was audible:

Alterius telum lapis est, qui missus in ipso
Aere concentu victus vocisque lyraeque est;
Ac veluti supplex pro tam furialibus ausis
Ante pedes jacuit.

(The weapon of another is a stone which when flung was conquered in mid-air by the harmony of voice and lyre, and lay at his feet as if suppliant for its infuriated attempt);

and also Ovid's "Os . . . auditum saxis intellectumque ferarum sensibus;" Milton's "Till the savage clamour drowned both harp and voice;" and Ovid's "ingens clamor" and "obstrepuere sono citharae," and "concentu . . . vocisque lyraeque."

Professor Masson, to whom all students of Milton's works are so immensely indebted—we wish him many happy returns of his recent birthday—has called attention to the fact that often the great poet's sentences are a wondrous fusion of biblical words and phrases. In the case just considered, not less remarkable assuredly are his reminiscences of what was presumedly a favorite passage in a favorite poet.

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A VARIANT OF THE GAELIC "BALLAD OF THE MANTLE."

THE Irish poem printed below seems worth publishing, even though the text is so bad as to be in places barely intelligible, because it is in some respects a significant variant of the "Ballad of the Mantle," which has interesting bearings on a large group of mediæval stories. The earliest known version of the ballad is preserved in the "Book of the Dean of Lismore," and was edited, along with other selections from that manuscript, by Rev. Thomas McLauchlan in 1862.¹ McLauchlan's text, with his translation, was reprinted by Thomas Wright in 1867,² and the text alone was once more published by J. F. Campbell in 1872.³ An improved edition of many of the pieces in the Dean's Book was begun by the late Alexander Cameron and published after his death by Alexander Macbain and John Kennedy. The "Ballad of the Mantle" is among them, and the *Reliquiae Celticae*⁴ (the posthumous collection of Cameron's works) contains, besides the Dean's version of the poem, a very similar Irish ballad from Edinburgh MS 54. Finally, in 1896, the ballad was re-edited and discussed in a masterly article by Ludwig Christian Stern,⁵ who called it, however, by some strange oversight, "eine bisher unbeachtet gebliebene Version" of the story. As a matter of fact the connection between the Gaelic ballad and the similar Arthurian tales was long ago noted by Thomas Wright in the article already cited,⁶ and the whole body of related material was analyzed at length by Professor Child in

¹ *The Dean of Lismore's Book*, Edinburgh, 1862, pp. 72 ff., of the English, and pp. 50 ff., of the Gaelic.

² *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3d Series, Vol. IX, pp. 39 ff.

³ *Leabhar na Feinne*, London, 1872, pp. 138 ff. In his very brief introductory note Campbell says: "This ballad, or the story of it, is known in Irish writings." It is not clear from his language whether he had in mind Irish ballads such as have since been published, or had seen the story in some other form in Irish.

⁴ Inverness, 1892. The Dean's version is on pp. 77 ff.; the Edinburgh text on pp. 116 ff.

⁵ *Zt. f. celt. phil.*, Vol. I, pp. 294 ff.

⁶ *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3d Series, Vol. IX, p. 7 ff.

his introduction to the English ballad of "The Boy and the Mantle."¹ But both these earlier discussions were based upon an imperfect understanding of the Gaelic text, and it remained for Stern to make a correct translation, and to point out the close parallelism between the account of Mac Reithe's wife and that of Sir Craddocke's. In addition to the copy of the ballad in the Dean's Book, Stern cited Irish versions of it from four manuscripts: the *Duanaire Fhinn*, of the seventeenth century, previously noted by Zimmer;² Edinburgh MS 54, of the eighteenth century, printed in the *Reliquiae Celticae*; and MSS 23. C. 31 and 23. G. 21 in the Royal Irish Academy, both of more recent date. The text of the *Duanaire Fhinn*³ he printed from a copy furnished him by P. M. MacSweeney, and variant readings were recorded from the Edinburgh manuscript. Both the printed Irish copies correspond closely (except for the omission or addition of two or three stanzas) to the poem in the Dean's Book, upon which Stern's discussion of the story was based. Whether the same is true of the versions in the Academy manuscripts I cannot say, since Stern gave no account of them, and I have not yet had an opportunity to look them up.⁴ Very likely Stern's texts will prove in the end to represent the oldest and purest form of the Gaelic ballad. But the version printed below differs from them considerably, and some of its features must be taken into account in reconstructing the history of the story on Gaelic ground.

The Harvard variant represents an amplified form of the poem which, so far as I know, is here published for the first time. It is taken from a very poor paper manuscript in the Harvard University Library (shelf-mark A R f. 4. 46. 8). The handwriting is

¹ *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Vol. I, p. 257-74. See also, for additions and corrections, Vol. I, p. 507; Vol. II, p. 502; Vol. III, p. 503; Vol. IV, p. 454; Vol. V, pp. 212 f., 289.

² *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1887, p. 173.

³ A complete edition of the *Duanaire Fhinn* is announced among the forthcoming publications of the Irish Texts Society.

⁴ There seems to be still another copy in MS, Egerton 175 (British Museum), fol. 59^b ff. See S. H. O'GRADY, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts*, p. 652. From O'Grady's statement that there are nineteen quatrains I infer that this copy corresponds rather to Stern's versions than to the Harvard variant. Since the last part of O'Grady's catalogue has not yet reached the Harvard Library, I cannot say whether the ballad is found also in other MSS at the British Museum.

said in two places to be that of Peter McCarthy (once spelled "Peter McCartdhs handwritting"), and one of the English entries is dated "this 7th Day of March one thousand Eight Hundrid and forty two—1842." The volume consists almost entirely of Ossianic poems, which are closely similar in contents to several of those in O'Daly's *Laoithe Fiamhuigheachta*.¹ They constitute, in fact, an incomplete copy of the compilation often entitled the *Agallamh Oisín agus Pátraic*. The following table will indicate more definitely the pieces included and the order in which they come:²

Laoith Mheargaigh, Oss. Soc., IV, 94-162. Incomplete at the beginning in the Harvard MS (H.)

Laoi Mnd Mheargaigh, *ibid.*, IV, 164-92.

Anmanna na b-Príomhlaochradh, *ibid.*, IV, 194-200.

Seilg Locha Léin, *ibid.*, IV, 200-224. Six stanzas on pp. 200-202 and three on pp. 217, 218, are not found in H.

Seilg Shléibhe g-Cuilinn, *ibid.*, V, pp. 2-18. H has fifteen additional stanzas containing a typical dispute between Patrick and Ossian on the subject of love.

Except for the differences indicated, and a few unimportant changes of order, the poems in H correspond almost stanza for stanza to those printed by O'Daly. But the verbal variations are so numerous and constant throughout that the manuscripts cannot stand in any close relation.³ After the "Chase of Slieve Gullion" H has eight stanzas of dialogue; and then comes the "Ballad of the Mantle," which O'Daly did not include in his collection. If he found it in his manuscripts, which is not unlikely, he may have omitted it from considerations of delicacy. The pages that follow the ballad in H seem to have belonged originally to a different manuscript. They contain, besides scribbles in English and Irish, copies of the *Bharántas an Hata* and the *Bharántas Dhonnchadha ui Níndáin* of Owen Roe O'Sullivan,⁴ and an incom-

¹ *Ossianic Society*, Vols. IV and VI.

² The titles are copied from O'Daly's edition. In H the pieces are written continuously without a single division.

³ The MS from which most of O'Daly's pieces come is a trifle later than H, having been written in 1844. But it has a much better text. The readings in H agree occasionally, though not regularly, with variants printed from other MSS in O'Daly's footnotes.

⁴ Both these "warrants" have been edited by Father Dinneen, *Amhráin Eoghain Ruaidh úi Shuilleabháin*, Dublin, 1901, pp. 103-12.

plete copy of the *Cúirt an Mheadhoin Oidhche*.¹ At the end of the last piece is the following signature: "Petir Crimin's handwriting, dated this 10 day of June one thousand & 41 one."

The text of the Harvard manuscript is uniformly bad throughout, as may be judged from the sample printed below. Spelling, meter, and grammatical construction are all hopelessly out of gear; and nearly every stanza affords examples of words wrongly divided, or of letters and marks of aspiration carelessly omitted. There are many mistakes of the kind familiar with illiterate writers who spell largely by sound, such as the constant confusion of *mh* and *bh*, or of *dh* and *gh*, and the incorrect insertion or omission of the last two. A number of errors, on the other hand, are blunders rather of the eye than of the ear, and make it clear that Peter McCarthy was copying, and not writing from memory or dictation. If his manuscript goes back at all to a correct written source — which it is not necessary to assume, since the bad spellings may have been in the first copy — I judge that it is several stages removed from such an original. In many places it is easy to correct the writer's blunders, and to restore lines which he has distorted; sometimes the older printed texts point the way to readings which he has disguised beyond recognition; but a few cases remain where I have not been able to make any satisfactory guess. Under the circumstances I have thought best to print the ballad just as it stands, in the hope that a better copy may soon be found. A complete translation, with the present materials, would involve some useless guess-work, but the main course of the narrative is clear. The summary which follows will show the relation of this version to the other ballads on the subject.

Ossian relates the story to Patrick. Finn was one day drinking in Almain, accompanied by only a few followers. There were six warriors in all — Finn and Ossian, Caoilte, Oscur, Diarmuid and Conan — and their six wives. (Stanzas 1, 2.) When drunkenness had overcome the women, they swore that there were not six wives in the world as faithful as they were. Finn warned them that though they might be good, there were many

¹ Recently printed by Patrick O'Brien, Dublin, 1893. The edition of 1800 is now rare.

women who had remained true to one man alone. (Stanzas 3, 4.) Not long after this, a beautiful girl entered with a mantle about her, and Finn asked her what she brought. She replied that it was the virtue of her mantle to reveal the unfaithfulness of women. (Stanzas 5-7.) Conan at once bade her give the mantle to his wife, that they might know the value of the women's boasts. His wife said she would take it, but she tried to evade the test. Then after Conan had taunted her, she put the garment on and it failed to cover her. When Conan saw it curling up about her side, he seized his spear and killed her. (Stanzas 8-16.) The wife of Diarmuid next took the mantle, and it also failed to cover her. She begged her husband not to trust in the virtue of the garment; but he replied that he believed the mantle rather than women's words. When she persistently refused to admit her guilt, he commanded her to leave his presence forever; and from that time forth Diarmuid never had a wife. (Stanzas 17-26.) Then Oscur asked Gealluir to try the loan of the mantle. She put it on, and it would not cover her middle. After protestations, and an appeal to the woman who brought the mantle, Gealluir was banished from her husband's presence with a curse. "Never again did my son take a wife," says Ossian to Patrick. (Stanzas 27-34.) Then Finn bade Miadhnuis, his wife, take the mantle. It floated above her ears and would not come down. Finn bared his sword and killed her in his anger. (Stanzas 35-38.) "Then my wife took the mantle," Ossian continues with pride. Of all the women she alone met the test successfully, and the garment covered her whole body. "It was pleasant to me, Patrick, to see my wife's faithfulness confirmed." (Stanzas 39-42.) Finally Mac Criomhthain's wife put on the mantle, and it fitted her smoothly except for her little toes. She confessed that she had been guilty of giving one kiss to Diarmuid. (Stanzas 42, 43.) Then the strange woman asked to have her mantle back, declaring that she herself had never bestowed her favors on any man but her husband. She departed, saying that she had "a little story about them;" and Finn cursed her for the trouble she had brought. (Stanzas 44-46.)

Several differences are to be noted between this ballad and

those printed by Stern. In the first place, the new variant has forty-six stanzas to their nineteen. The additions consist principally of dialogue and a more circumstantial account of the testing of the women. But the longer poem cannot be accounted for simply as an embellishment of either one of the others. It agrees now with one of them, and now with the other, and contains some elements (whether early or late) not found in either. It also omits stanzas occurring in one or both of them: such as Lismore stanza 3, giving the names of the women, and Lismore stanza 7, describing the entrance of the damsel (both of them also missing in *Duanaire Fhinn* and the Edinburgh MS); Lismore stanza 16 (which DF and Ed. have), containing the words of Mac Reithe; and Lismore stanza 17 (which DF and Ed. lack), containing the answer of his wife. Stanza 45 in H, on the other hand, is missing in Lismore, but found in both DF and Ed. Most of these variations are insignificant, since stanzas are freely added or dropped in popular ballads. But the list of the women's names in Lismore (stanza 3) is really inconsistent with H, which calls Oscur's wife *Gealluir*. No such name occurs in Lismore, and no name at all is given Oscur's wife in DF and Ed. H also disagrees with Lismore (and agrees with the Irish ballads) in assigning the words of warning in stanza 5 to Finn, and not to the maiden with the mantle.

Of the stanzas which H has in common with the older ballads—about fifteen in all—some show only loose correspondences, and some have been very much corrupted by copyists, or in process of oral transmission. A typical instance of the latter sort will be found in stanza 44, for which Lismore has:

Tabhraidh mo bhrat domh, a mhná,
is mi nighean an Deirg ghráin,
nocha dearnus do locht
ach feis re Finn faobhar-nocht.

The references to Dearg and Finn have disappeared from H, though they are perfectly clear in Ed. The whole stanza is missing in DF.

H agrees with Lismore in mentioning Caoilte among the company. In Ed. and DF Mac Reithe takes his place, and the six

men named in the preliminary list are the same as those concerned in the narrative. Since in Lismore also Mac Reithe figures in the action, and not Caoilte, Stern concluded that the former should be substituted in the list. But it is not necessary to assume an error here, or even an inconsistency. Apart from the fact that Caoilte is mentioned in H—an odd coincidence, if his appearance in Lismore is a mere mistake—there is some authority for the name "Caoilte mac Reath" (or "Retha") in other ballads.¹ In H, to be sure, the situation is more complicated, for the husband of the venial transgressor in this latest version is Mac Criomhthain, and not Mac Reithe. Now at least two Ossianic characters are called Mac Criomhthain: Catluan, who is mentioned as a member of Finn's household;² and Cael Crodha, who has several adventures in the *Agallamh na Senorach*.³ If the second of these is intended, the discrepancy between the opening stanzas in H and the actual tale may be due to some confusion between his name and that of Caoilte.⁴

The most striking difference, however, between H and the other ballads is in the treatment of Ossian's wife. Lismore has no account of her experience with the mantle, presumably because one or more stanzas have been lost. DF and Ed. each have a stanza declaring that the garment did not fit her, but brought her to shame. In H, on the other hand, Ossian boasts that his wife was triumphantly vindicated. She has not even a peccadillo to confess. How old this feature of H is, cannot be satisfactorily determined with the evidence at hand. The foreign analogues, as Stern suggests,⁵ lead us to expect the complete exoneration of one of the women; and it might perhaps be maintained that the Lismore version, if we had the missing stanzas, would show the

¹ See *Leabhar na Feinne*, pp. 98 and 103; *Reliquiae Celticae*, Vol. I, pp. 210, 304, and 327; and compare *Fhoilte mic Rea*, *Inverness Transactions*, Vol. XIII, p. 279.

² *Silva Gadelica* (S. H. O'GRADY), Vol. I, p. 92.

³ *Irish Texts* (WINDISCH AND STOKES), Vol. IV, pp. 7, 22-5, 132, 133. See also *Reliquiae Celticae*, Vol. I, pp. 86, 202 ff., 259, 345 ff., 395, 422 ff., and *The Battle of Ventry*, pp. 52-7 (containing the account of his death and that of his wife Gelges). Cael Crodha's nurse, it may be worth noting, is Muirenn, a daughter of Derg. She seems to be a different person from the daughter of Derg who brings the mantle.

⁴ With regard to the possibility of such a confusion it is interesting to note that Cameron, in transliterating one of the poems in the Dean's Book, rendered *Keilcroy*¹ (or *Keiltroy*²) ³ *Kreyvin* as *Caoilte-cruaidh mac Criomhthain*. Stern has pointed out that this should be *Caol-crodha* (*Zt. f. Celt. Phil.*, Vol. I, p. 326).

⁵ P. 309.

innocence of Ossian's wife. But this supposition appears to me unlikely. The exoneration of Mac Reithe's wife is nearly enough complete to furnish a good parallel to the account of Sir Craddocke's wife in the English version. The statement that the latter, after her confession, found the mantle to fit perfectly, is prettily devised, but it makes no essential difference in the story. Moreover, if the innocence of Ossian's wife was an original feature of the Irish ballad, it is strange that it should have been changed in DF and Ed. If, on the contrary, she was originally disgraced like the rest, it is easy to see how the account of her innocence may have been introduced for dramatic effect, after the whole story had been put into Ossian's mouth. It will be observed that in DF and Ed. the tale is not narrated in the first person. Whatever the relative age of the two accounts, the absolute age of the vindication of Ossian's wife remains doubtful. It is not proved to be recent because it happens to have been found only in a late manuscript.

But it is not the purpose of this article, necessarily very short, to reconstruct the history of the Gaelic "Ballad of the Mantle." I have meant simply to call attention to the new variant and to some of the questions it raises—questions which will very likely be easy to settle when a larger body of Ossianic literature is in print. The following text, I also beg to say, is not an edition of the poem, but is offered—errors and all—as material toward an edition.¹

- 1 La da raibh Fionn aig oil
 an Almhuinn ar bheagan sloig
 seisear fear agus seisear bann
 is dob iad sinn iomlan ar mbionne

¹The Harvard Library has acquired, since the present article was put in type, another manuscript of the *Agallamh Oisín agus Fátraic*, which contains a version of the "Ballad of the Mantle" substantially identical with the one here published. This second manuscript (shelf-mark ARf. 4. 46. 10) is dated 1800, and is much more accurately written than the other. Unfortunately it comes to hand too late for use at this time. The two texts frequently show different readings, but there is no disagreement in the narrative or the names of the characters. The existence of the second copy does not, so far as I can see, affect any of the statements made above. It simply suggests that the longer form of the ballad, as well as the shorter, may prove to be common in Ossianic manuscripts. A careful study of the whole *Agallamh*, investigating the date and manner of its compilation and the history of its component parts, is much to be desired. The title is sometimes used for a single dialogue, and sometimes serves (after the manner of the *Agallamh na Senorach*) to designate a whole cycle of somewhat disconnected poems.

- 2 Fionn agus Oisinn do bi ann
Cuilte Usgar 7 Diarmuid
Conan maol nar mait meinn
is mna na seisear laoc sinn
- 3 An tan do ghaibh meisge na mna
tuig siad alluidhe mhionne gnaith
na raibh ar an ttalamh dtirim
seisear bann chomh hionnraic leo.
- 4 Adubhairt Fionn faith an duinne
ilcheardach é an dobhann
cia mait sibse is iomdha beann
nar cumaisg riabh ac haon fear *amhain*.
- 5 Ni fada biodhar mar sinn
an tan tainig aon beann chuicha
brait iompe go naile
agus í na haon tsanaithedh
- 6 Fiafrios Fionn go nairach
dinngionn an bruit go naile
Cread do beir tu ad taonn tsnaoite
ataecht anis dar laithir
- 7 Cuid do bhuaedh mo bhruit go naile
ar an ingionn ailion uidh
mi ionracas gac mna do nochta
afhin sheibh shochma mhicuail
- 8 Tabhair an brat dom mhnaoi feinn
ar Connan maol a rioghbhan og
no go bhfeasam an briathar mear
tuig na mna ar mhaithedh leo
- 9 Glacadsa an brat a Connann
ar an bhean dob aile gnuis
cia mor a ghuilas orm fein
an deinan-tu dom miodreir gan cuis.
- 10 Gabus bean Connann gan chiall
an brat iompe feinn go dluit
nuar fuar si an brat a caise
gan fios donn fhear mhaite duig.
- 11 A bhean ar Conan go borb
cread is eagal duit mas fíor
na briathradh grod ó cianaibh
an brath ar iasacht tomais read cli

- 12 Do gaib-asa an brat riomhaso
A Conan coisg do beal ar sidh
is brid ar bith ni gealtar liom
do bheith an suid fhear na mnaoidh
- 13 Na bi da luadh a bheann ar Connann
gaibh an brat go naile chugad
no go bfeasad an fíor an glór
mar aon leo do taint liom.
- 14 Gaibhadsa an brait uid airis
a Connann ar si do chrith glór
ni bhfuil ae neabh níde ansa bhrat
chuirim anaith dhuit gan ghó.
- 15 Do gaibh bean Connann maoill
an brat fíor íompe go mear
is gairid do cuaig a cuard
is bo gairid feadh gruaim an bheann.
- 16 Anuar do conaire Conan maoll
an brat fe na taob acasa
nochtas a chiochras go níbh
an ríogh bean nar glic gur mairbh.
- 17 Glachas beann Dhiarmada ui Doinn
an brat ó mhnaoi Conan maoil
cia guir bhi sin an tsaoi gan locht
adeadh-nocht níor fhuilling se amhain.
- 18 A Dhiarmuid air an bhean chaobh
na tabhair geile do bhuadh an bhrúit
táim feinn íonraic go lór
ar son na fonnann se dhuim.
- 19 Geilimse do bhuadh an brúit
a bheann go fíor air Diarmuid Donn
níor geillis fos do bhriaraibh bann
anunracais air feag an domhain.
- 20 A Dhiarmuid ar an bhean caobh
na caisa liom fein go brach
mheith míodh-íonraich dhuit mar fear
trei bhuadh feasa an bhrúit bhann.
- 21 Is fídhneadh me a bheann go miníoc
ar íonnracas fuill uightheac mna
níor creidis riamh da nglór
is ní mo deon go brach

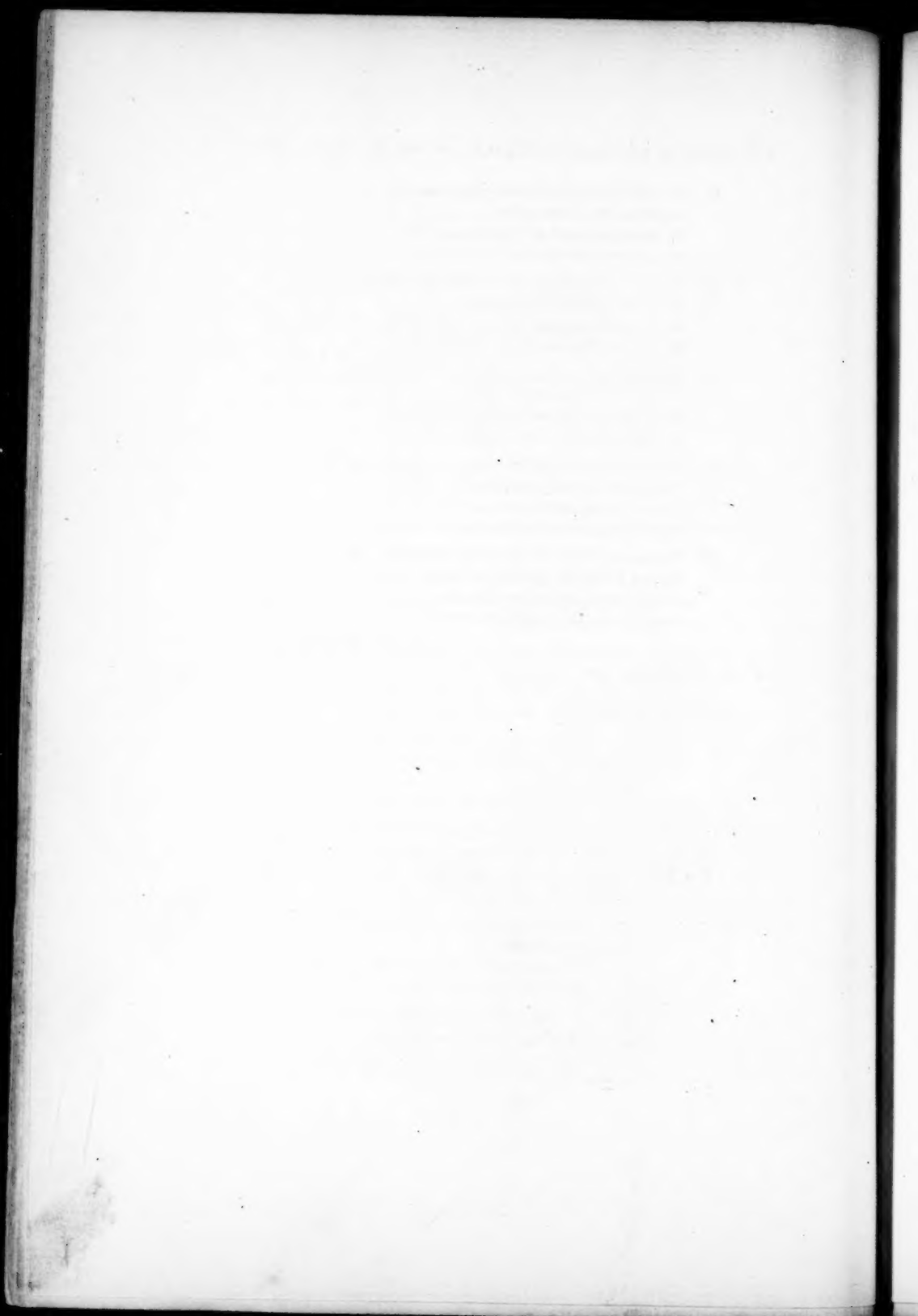
- 22 Ni raibhas go teacht don inghionn uid
aon traith mi-ionnraic duit mar mnaoi
tabair dom aithneadh ar an eag
a Diarmuid mas geile don brat ban
- 23 Ni chuirfad a bhean cum bais tú
amhain gach traith is feasach liom
fear uile ma fuar uait pairt
ni baoghal dhuit trait is inis duinn.
- 24 A Dhiarmuid mas bas no beathedh
san ccas so do gealag duim feinn
ni fuidh mo cuir anis aluadh
is ni nocht-far t uaim leam readh
- 25 Imig a bhean slann fe bhuadh
ar Diarmuid uaim go la an bhrach
do gheibhairse ceile fir caomh
is na feicimse do gnuis go brach
- 26 Dimig beann Dhiarmada ui Dhuibhinn
is ni haithiristear linn car gaibh
nior ceanail Diarmuid accomh-dhail
daonn ceile gnath ónn la do sgair
- 27 A Gealluir ar Usgar na lann
is fada ar ngrun agcomh-dhail
ghaibh chugaid iasacht an bhruit
go bfeasam anis ameadh do gnait
- 28 Glachas beann Usgur an bhreat
gear bhfada chomhairsing chomhreig
gear cuard an bhrít bain
a hiomlachainn nior fulaing se
- 29 A Usgair ar Ghealluir chaoimh
na-cuirse a sim andearna cuir
mas feasac e don ingion uidh
is cead liomsa insint duit
- 30 Ingion ailin an bhruit bhan
ar Usgur an ail leat suid
mas fas dhuit cionta mo mhna
e nochtá gan cairde duinn
- 31 Do till go meallfadh si
inngionn caoinn an bruit bhainn
is go nochtfac cuirsa a mna feinn
d' Usgair da ceile caig

- 32 Usgur na geruadh lann ngear
is tuigite fein an gníomh
feach go cruinn ar luidhe an bhruit
is ní beag dhuit sin ar an mnaoi
- 33 A Dhealluir ar Usgus trean
imig mar aonledo na mhaoinn
na ficim do gnuis go lá an brach
mo mallocht gac lá ad tslighe
- 34 Do ghluais Gealluir ona gheile chaomh
is ní feasach me cáir trial
níor gaibh mo mac re haon mnaoi gnath
o dimig a Padruig na celiar
- 35 Adubart Fion na mnaoi fein
dar bo chobhanim glaoit Miadhnúis
Gaibse an brat a ceile go mear
is nar sgara leat mar sgar le chaich
- 36 Ma geiltéar leat do bhuadh an bruit
a Fhín fhaith glic mic Cubail
cuibhnig guirabhe buadh ata aige
na geasa ata astig na cluid
- 37 Ghaibhas Maighnais bean Fhinn na sloigh
an brat fa chorle mhighraunn
do chrap is do chruadh mar sin
tar a clusaibh anuas ní dheachaig an bhrat bann
- 38 Nochtas Fion do lan phreib
a chliobh is bo dhoilg ris fein
do mairbh a bhainn ceile go mear
is do teilg an brat da taobh
- 39 Glacas mo bheannas a gan fonn
an brait is bo throum a ghlór
dob aithrich liom fein fin
anuar gur di bho dhobron
- 40 Do ghaib sise iompe an brat
is bo dhubhach a chruith sa gnuis
dfullaing an brat a corp
o rin guir chuimil donn uir
- 41 Bo mait liom a Padruig
ionnracas mo mna bheith fíor
is daistrig sí go minníc daith
suil do bainnaig an brat da taobh

- 42 *Nochtas* bean mic Criumhthain a taobh
is gabas impe fein an brat
do chuaig an brat go sleamhuin slan
sios go lar a luidheain
- 43 A mhic Crium-thain na mbriathair nolce
ni dearna riab do chiontaibh
ac aon poag *amhain* agus ni mar guid
do mac ui Dhuibhinn do Dhiarmuid
- 44 Tabar duim a mhna mo brat
is me ingion as dearbh diob
nar shinn mo thaobh re fear ar bith
ac ream aon fear fein amain.
- 45 Rachadsa feasta ualbh amna
fagbhaid an teach agaibh fein
sgeal ni beag agaib orm
sgeal beag aguim orrib ata.
- 46 Beir ar mallocht ar himeacht uainn
do rad Fionn bo cruad glic laibh
dubac anaith *ar* mban dfuigis sinn,
immig is na tar cugain go brach.

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THE AUTHENTICITY OF GOETHE'S SESENHEIM SONGS.

WHILE preparing my edition of Goethe's poems I found it necessary to examine again the arguments which in recent years have been advanced against the authenticity of Goethe's so-called Sesenheim songs. The results of my investigations were such as to warrant a new discussion of a question which, in my opinion, is no less important and interesting than similar problems connected with literary documents of greater antiquity. I begin with a brief statement of the facts.

When Goethe in 1779 paid his final visit to Friederike Brion, he said in the account of this visit which he gave to Frau von Stein: "Ich fand alte Lieder, die ich gestiftet hatte." And in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Hempel, Vol. XII, p. 20) he writes of these songs: "Ich legte für Friederiken manche Lieder bekannten Melodien unter. Sie hatten ein artiges Bändchen gegeben, wenige davon sind übrig geblieben, man wird sie leicht aus meinen übrigen herausfinden." There are, in fact, among the poems which Goethe published only two songs that belong to this period. What became of the other songs, the original existence of which is beyond question?

In 1835 Heinrich Kruse, the German poet, paid a visit to Friederike's younger sister, Sophie, who allowed him to make a copy of a number of songs which she still had in her possession. In his account of this visit, published in Vol. XVII of the *Deutsche Rundschau*, Kruse says: "Sie [Sophie] zeigte mir zuletzt noch einige Kleinigkeiten, die sie von Goethes Hand zufällig übrig behalten, und erlaubte mir herzlich gern, sie abzuschreiben." Three of the eleven songs which he copied were, according to Kruse, in Friederike's handwriting: "Kleine Blumen, kleine Blätter," "Jetzt fühlt der Engel," and "Nun sitzt der Ritter." Whether the remaining eight poems were in Goethe's handwriting he does not state directly in his account, but in a letter to

✓ Adalbert Baier he writes that the poems were partly written in Goethe's, partly in Friederike's hand.

In spite of this positive assertion, the question has been raised: Were the songs which Kruse copied really in Goethe's handwriting? Bielschowsky in an essay published in Vol. XII of the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* denies this, saying that what Kruse had before him was *not* Goethe's handwriting, but that of Lenz who, as is known, after Goethe's departure from Strassburg made the attempt to become the latter's successor in the affections of Friederike. Bielschowsky believes that his opinion finds support in the fact that August Stöber, the Alsatian poet, who visited Sophie Brion in 1837, found only eight poems, all of which were copies, the originals having been lost. Stöber printed these eight poems in his book *Der Dichter Lenz und Friederike von Sesenheim* (1842), remarking in a footnote (p. 111): "Diese Gedichte, die ich 1838 schon im Musenalmanach von Chamisso und Schwab mittheilte, waren im Besitz von Sophie Brion, Friederikens jüngster Schwester; die Originalien kamen ihr abhanden; allein sie versicherte, die Abschriften seien getreu."

It seems to me most peculiar reasoning to conclude that, because Stöber did not find the originals, the poems which Kruse copied were in Lenz's handwriting. But even if we should grant Bielschowsky his remarkable conclusion, would it not be equally remarkable that Lenz had written or copied for Friederike the songs which are Goethe's unquestioned property? Would a jealous and envious lover, and a poet of unusual ability such as Lenz was copy the poems of his predecessor, whom he was anxious to supplant in the affections of the girl? With the air of a district attorney who is trying to win his case Bielschowsky asks:

2 "Wie ist Sophie auf den Gedanken verfallen, sich eine Copie herzustellen? Ahnte sie den Verlust der Originalien im Voraus? Das Gleiche fällt bei Friederiken auf. Wozu hat sie sich Abschriften verfertigt? Sollte es nicht wahrscheinlich sein, dass schon Krusen, in denjenigen Blättern, die er für Abschriften Friederikens hielt, Abschriften Sophiens vorlagen, die sie sich zu der Zeit machte, wo die Originale noch in den Händen der Schwester waren? Denn von Goethe's Briefen und Liedern durfte [!] Sophie im Original nichts ererbt haben, obwohl sie das Gegentheil versichert hat. Es lag für eine alte Dame, für die Schwester

Friederikens, die fortwährend nach Goethischen Handschriften gefragt wurde, die Verführung nahe, auch über den Rahmen dessen hinaus, was sie als Goethisch ansah, von Goethischen Autographen zu sprechen."

But is it really so strange a fact that Sophie, in order to guard against the possible loss of the original poems, for which she was asked so frequently, made a copy, or had one made, since we are not told that she made it herself? And is it really so incredible that Friederike made copies of the poems which, without doubt, were originally contained in Goethe's letters? Would a woman of fine feeling, in her position, not guard such letters as sacred treasures, and allow to curious visitors only the inspection of copies? There is, in my opinion, not the least reason to impeach the honesty and veracity of either Sophie or Kruse, and, until stronger and more convincing arguments are brought forward, we must believe that Kruse in 1835 saw the originals, and that these had been lost or were withheld in 1837, when Stöber saw the copies. What became finally of Sophie's copies is not known.¹

But the question concerning the authenticity of the originals which Kruse copied is not decided, after all, by our mere belief in the latter's veracity. Of the eleven poems, which he copied and afterward presented to Salomon Hirzel, three have since been discovered among the papers of Lenz at Moscow and are now in the possession of P. Th. Falck, the author of the book *Friederike Brion*. Does this discovery not make it possible that Kruse was after all deceived in the handwriting, and that, among the originals which he saw, there were some in the handwriting of Lenz? It seems to me that we must choose between two possibilities. The originals which Kruse saw were either all in the handwriting of Lenz, or else the latter copied the three poems found among his papers from the originals in Friederike's possession. We have seen already that the first possibility is excluded, because it seems impossible that Lenz should have written or copied for Friederike the poems dedicated to her by Goethe. And had there been, beside Friederike's, two different handwritings in the

¹ It may be worth mentioning here that Sophie Brion is said to have entrusted the manuscripts to a young clergyman by the name of Spohr, who soon afterwards perished in America. See LUCIUS, *Friederike Brion*, p. 172.

✓ originals, Kruse would certainly have recorded the fact. There is, however, sufficient proof that Lenz tried to get possession of everything concerning Goethe's relations to Friederike, and it does not seem to me impossible that he obtained from her a copy of the poems in question, as he obtained from Goethe a copy of the latter's drama *Prometheus*.

Far more important and decisive than the complicated exterior criteria for the authenticity of our songs is, in my opinion, the inner evidence which the poems furnish of Goethe's authorship. Bielschowsky, who in the essay quoted above is following von Loeper, Strehlke, and other critics, has collected material from Lenz's poems for the purpose of disproving the authenticity of at least five songs. I hope to show in the following that Bielschowsky is mistaken in his essential arguments. Before I discuss, however, the poems in question singly a few general remarks may be in place.

Although the eleven poems originated from various situations and at various times, they have in common certain characteristics of thought and expression which stamp them as the product of *one* author. Thus, in four of the songs Friederike is represented as the sun of his life, giving happiness and sunshine, as, e. g., in No. 9 (I quote according to the numbering of *Der junge Goethe*, Vol. I, pp. 261 ff.):

In einem deiner Blicke
Liegt *Sonnenschein* und Glück.

* * * * *

Der Wiesen grüner Schimmer
Wird trüb wie mein Gesicht,
Sie seh'n die *Sonne* nimmer,
Und ich *Friederiken* nicht.

Again in No. 1, the authenticity of which Bielschowsky questions:

Erwache Friederike,
Vertreib die Nacht,
Die einer deiner Blicke
Zum Tage macht.

Again in No. 5:

Seit du entfernt *will keine Sonne* scheinen,

and in No. 4:

Die Sonne scheint ihm schwarz, der Boden leer,

both of which poems are assigned to Lenz by von Loeper, Strehlke, Weinhold, and Bielschowsky. It seems to me impossible, however, that Lenz, unless he copied and imitated it directly, should have used for Friederike the same comparison with the sun. Nor have the commentators and critics of our poems as yet pointed out the close correspondence between Goethe's account of his experiences at Sesenheim in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* and certain passages in our poems. And this correspondence speaks all the more for the authenticity of the "doubtful" songs, since we have no evidence that Goethe possessed more than two of the poems of this period when he wrote his account.

The first poem which von Loeper, Weinhold, Bielschowsky, and others assign to Lenz is No. 4, beginning: "Ach bist du fort," etc. It is not necessary to assume, as Bielschowsky does, that this poem, which suggests to the careful reader in more than one way the passionate strains of the later *Elegie*, was written at Sesenheim. It is, on the other hand, quite possible that it was composed after Friederike's departure from Strassburg, and it is not improbable that our poem records far more faithfully than the later account in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* the painful effect which Friederike's visit had upon Goethe. But in the following passage of this account the reminiscence of the complaint that Friederike did not notice him still finds expression (Hempel, Vol. XVIII, p. 23): "Auch mit mir machte sich's Friederike leicht. . . . Sie schien mir keinen andern Vorzug zu geben als den, dass sie ihr Begehren, ihre Wünsche, eher an mich . . . richtete." With this compare the second strophe of our poem:

. . . ich sah dich Abschied nehmen,
Dein göttlich Aug' in Thränen stehn
Für deine Freundinnen—des Jünglings stummes Grämen
Blieb unbemerkt, ward nicht gesehn.

That our poem was written after Friederike's visit to Strassburg, which had disillusioned Goethe to a great extent, seems to me evident also from the expression:

aus welchen guldnen Träumen
Erwach ich nun zu meiner Qual?

With almost the same words Goethe refers to his love for Friederike in the famous portrait of himself, contained in the review of the *Gedichte eines polnischen Juden*:¹ "Lass, o Genius unseres Vaterlandes, bald einen Jüngling aufblühen, . . . dessen empfindendes Herz sich wohl auch fangen liesse, sich aber stolz im Augenblick wieder loss riss, wenn er *aus dem dichtenden Traum erwachend* fände, dass seine Göttin nur schön, nur munter sei."

Criticising the expressions *Verzweiflung*, *Gram*, *Sterben*, which occur in our poem, Bielschowsky says: "Die Verzweiflung, das Grab, entsetzlich, grausam sind in keinem subjectiven Liede des jungen Goethe [by the way, did Goethe at any time write songs other than *subjective*?] zu finden. . . . Das 'Sterben' ist gleichfalls auch nicht mehr als einmal in der Lyrik des jungen Goethe zu belegen." Evidently Bielschowsky did not read carefully enough, or he would have discovered the following passages in which Goethe *does* speak of death. In the *Leipziger Liederbuch*,² "Der Schmetterling":

In des Pappillons Gestalt
Flattr' ich *nach den letzten Zagen*
Zu den vielgeliebten Stellen.

"An Venus,"³

Lass mir Gütige — dem Minos
Seys *an meinem Tod* genug —
Mein Gedächtniss!

* * * * *

Aus dem Lethe
Soll ich trinken, *wenn ich sterbe*,
Ach befreye mich davon.

"Einzeichnung auf die Tafel in der Buchenlaube bei Sesenheim,"⁴

Es mag der Dichter *sterben*,
Der diesen Reim gemacht.

In his letter to Friederike Oeser of November 8, 1768:⁵

Ich kam zu Dir, *ein Todter aus dem Grabe*,
Den bald *ein zweiter Todt* zum zweitenmal begräbt;
Und wem er nur einmal recht nah ums Haupt geschwebt,
Der bebt
Bey der Erinnerung, gewiss so lang er lebt.

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, Vol. II, pp. 440 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 98.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

And in another letter:¹ "Sie [Fr. Oeser] wollten sich zu Todte lachen, wie ein Mensch die Carrikaturidee haben konnte, im 20sten Jahre an der Lungensucht zu sterben." Similar thoughts of an early death we find in his letters to Charlotte Buff, and even during his Italian journey. We may, therefore, dismiss without hesitation as a myth the representation of Goethe which would have us believe that he was always "der glückliche Liebhaber, und eine viel zu frohe Natur, um zu solchem forcirten Ausdruck der inneren Bewegung zu greifen."

Bielschowsky continues: "Ausser den Schmerzensausdrücken sind aber in dem Gedichte noch andere Wendungen, die Fremdlinge in Goethes Reiche. 'Die Sonne scheint ihm schwarz,' heisst es in der vierten Strophe, 'die Bäume blühen ihm schwarz.' Goethe hätte weder das Bild gebraucht, noch wäre er an dem Epithet 'schwarz' hängen geblieben." But this expression does not appear extraordinary at all, if we remember, as I have pointed out already, how frequently Goethe compares Friederike to the sun in these songs. And so deeply was this comparison impressed upon his mind that he remembered it when he wrote the account in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. Thus the lines:

Erwache, Friederike,
Vertreib die Nacht,
Die einer deiner Blicke
Zum Tage macht

occur almost literally in the following passage of *D. u. W.*, Vol. XXI, p. 203: "Friederikens Reden hatten jedoch nichts Mondscheinhaftes; durch die Klarheit womit sie sprach, machte sie die Nacht zum Tage." But she is not only the sunshine of his life, her absence changes the very colors of nature, No. 9:

Der Wiesen grüner Schimmer
Wird trüb wie mein Gesicht,
Sie sehn die Sonne nimmer
Und ich Friedriken nicht.

If here the green meadows appear to him *trüb*, why should it be unlike Goethe to describe in the other poem the trees and even

¹Der junge Goethe, Vol. I, p. 47.

the sun as *schwarz*? Or is it unlike Goethe to let the unhappy lover in the classic elegy "Alexis und Dora" say:

Du lägst nur den Himmel;
Welle! dein herrliches Blau *ist mir die Farbe der Nacht* [i. e., *schwarz*].

The expression *Vollkommenheit* in strophe 6 is not, as Bielschowsky thinks, a mere abstract noun, if we remember the frequent representation of allegories on the stage during the eighteenth century. Thus Frau Neuber, the famous actress, gave in 1737 at Strassburg a play called *Die Verehrung der Vollkommenheit*, in which the latter appeared: "als Minerva mit Helm, Schild, Lanze und Harnisch, blau gekleidet."¹

The lines in strophe 6:

Ein andrer mag nach jenen Puppen schauen,
Ihm sind die Närrinnen verleidt,

agree with the following passage from Goethe's letter to Friederike:² "Sie wollten nicht glauben, dass mir der Stadtlärm auf Ihre süsse Landfreuden missfallen würde. Gewiss, Mamsell, Strassburg ist mir noch nie so leer vorgekommen, als jetzt." Bielschowsky, as well as von Loeper and Weinhold, overlooks the fact that there is in the last strophe of our poem an expression that belongs entirely to Goethe. It is the expression *ich wanke* which occurs also in the poem "Elysium" (1772):³

Und ich *wanke*, nahe mich,
Blicke, seufze, *wanke*.

The poem, "Wo bist du itzt," etc. (No. 5), is perhaps, as Düntzer suggests, one of the songs which Goethe "bekannten Melodien unterlegte," showing, at the same time in several places, his authorship. Thus in line 2 he speaks of Friederike's singing, as he does in No. 8; in line 5 he compares her to the sun, as he does in Nos. 1, 4, and 9, and the expression, "Wo lacht die Flur" occurs literally in the Mayfest: "Wie lacht die Flur." The form *itzt* for *jetzt* should not annoy the critics, since it was evidently needed as a rhyme for *besitzt*. Finally the lines:

¹ See *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. X, pp. 453 ff. For Goethe's use of "Vollkommenheit" and "vollkommen" compare *D. J. G.*, Vol. I, pp. 6, 96, 347. For his use of *Jüngling* in the second strophe see *ibid.*, pp. 95, 97, 104, 108, 107, 109.

² *D. J. G.*, Vol. I, p. 247.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 24.

Schon rufen Hirt und Herden
Dich bang zurück,

are not necessarily, as Bielschowsky thinks, "eine aus der Schäferpoesie entlehnte Floskel." They suggest to me one of the many poetic games which Goethe improvised at Sesenheim, presumably a pastoral play, in which Friederike was his shepherdess.

The next poem which Bielschowsky claims for Lenz is No. 3, beginning, "Nun sitzt der Ritter an dem Ort." His arguments which are based upon the diction and the metrics of the poem are, however, too weak to deserve contradiction. The fact that Goethe was accustomed already during this Leipzig period to call himself a *knight* is sufficient reason for me to assign this poem to him. Thus he writes to Friederike Oeser:¹ "Und wenn Sie an einem schönen Sommerabend am Fenster stehen und ein Mensch in seltsamem Aufzug über die Brücke getraht kommt, so bin ich's, der irrende *Ritter*." And in the poem "An den Mond"² he sings:

Und in wollustvoller Ruh,
Sah der weitverschlagne *Ritter*
Durch das gläserne Gegitter,
Seines Mädgens Nächten zu.

It seems quite probable that Goethe had called himself a knight before the girls at Sesenheim, and that in consequence he was told by them to ride out in search of some adventure. To apply, as Bielschowsky does, the strict rules of metrics to a *Gelegenheitsgedicht* like ours is unjust, inasmuch as Goethe neglected strict metrical rules until after his Italian journey.³

Another song which Bielschowsky assigns to Lenz is No. 8, beginning "Balde seh ich Rickgen wieder." The diction of this poem is so peculiarly Goethe's that doubt of its authenticity seems to be excluded. I shall give in the following a number of passages in support of my opinion. The superlative *süßstes* in the line, "Nach der süßsten Melodie," seems to me impossible for the Livonian Lenz, while it is the form to which Goethe was accustomed in his Frankfort dialect. It occurs also in the poem "Abschied":⁴

¹ *D. j. G.*, Vol. I, p. 57.

² *Ibid.*, p. 108.

³ See *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Vol. XXII, p. 218.

⁴ *D. j. G.*, Vol. I, p. 111.

Traurig wird in dieser Stunde
Selbst der Liebe süßtes Pfand.

The line:

Lange hab' ich nicht gesungen

corroborates the statement in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Vol. XXII, p. 20: "Unter diesen Umgebungen trat unversehens die Lust zu dichten, die ich lange nicht gefühlt hatte, wieder hervor." Again, the anxiety of the verses:

Denn mich *angsten* tiefe Schmerzen
* * * * *
Und der wahre Gram im Herzen
Geht nicht über in mein Lied.

is recorded in the following passages of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Vol. XXII, p. 49: "Solchen Zerstreungen und Heiterkeiten gab ich mich um so lieber und zwar bis zur *Trunkenheit* hin, als mich mein leidenschaftliches Verhältniss zu Friederike nunmehr zu *angstigen* anfang. . . . Wenngleich die Gegenwart Friederikens mich *angstigte*, so wusste ich doch nichts Angenehmeres, als abwesend an sie zu denken." But the decisive line which, in my opinion, stamps the poem as Goethe's, is the line:

Doch *jetzt* sing' ich.

It was in Sesenheim where Goethe learned the important lesson of his life: to do as the moment bids. Thus in a letter to Salzmann he writes:¹ "Die Welt ist so schön! so schön! Wer's geniessen könnte! Ich bin manchmal ärgerlich darüber, und manchmal halte ich mir erbauliche Erbauungsstunden über das *Heute*, über diese Lehre, die unsrer Glückseligkeit so unentbehrlich ist." And the same thought is expressed in No. 2,²

Jetzt fühlt der Engel, was ich fühle,
Ihr Herz gewann ich mir beim Spiele,
Und sie ist nun von Herzen mein.
Du gabst mir, Schicksal, diese Freude,
Nun lass auch Morgen sein wie *Heute*,
Und lehr, mich ihrer würdig sein.

Concerning the closing lines of our poem:

¹ *D. j. G.*, Vol. I, p. 253.

² *Ibid.*, p. 283.

Ja, ich gäbe diese Gabe [of enjoying the *Jetzt*, the present]
Nicht für alle Klöster Wein.

Bielschowsky remarks: "Auch die Schlusswendung scheint mir nicht Goethisch. Ein Dichter von so unsicherem Tactgefühl wie Lenz mochte einen solchen für ein Trinklied passenden Abschluss hier für brauchbar halten, nicht aber ein Goethe." Bielschowsky forgot, or did not know of, the important rôle which wine played in Goethe's life, and his criticism again goes to show how insufficient and misleading æsthetic reasoning of this sort is. That Goethe should have thought in this poem of *alle Klöster Wein* to make him forget the *tieffen Schmerzen* and *den wahren Gram in seinem Herzen* is but natural, if we remember from the passage quoted before how he gave himself over to all kinds of "*Zerstreuungen* und *Heiterkeiten* und zwar bis zur *Trunkenheit*." His letters to Salzmann, written from Sesenheim during this time, fully corroborate this.

The last poem which Bielschowsky suspects as belonging to Lenz is No. 1, beginning: "Erwache Friederike." Again he bases his arguments upon æsthetic and stylistic considerations, although the poem is a most unpretentious *Gelegenheitsgedicht*, whose author scolds the muses, because they do not obey him, since

Der Schlaf hat ihn verlassen,
Doch wacht er nicht.

To scold and reproach the drowsy poet now for writing contradictory passages and using weak expressions, as Bielschowsky does, is to miss the humor of the situation. Our serenade was not composed for critics, but for a girl fast asleep, to whom it made little difference whether the serenader said in one strophe that the nightingale was silent, and in another that she sang. And nothing confirms better than this contradiction the sleepiness of our poet, who could not think of polishing his poem afterward without destroying his best effects. The condition in which Goethe wrote the song may perhaps also have influenced his handwriting, of which Kruse remarks: "von nachlässig verstellter Hand."

But there are certain passages in the poem which show Goethe's genius, despite his temporary drowsiness. The lines,

Erwache Friederike,
Vertreib die Nacht,
Die einer deiner Blicke
Zum Tage macht,

I have discussed already. Another passage which, as Düntzer pointed out, reveals the authorship of Goethe, are the verses:

Es zittert Morgenschimmer
Mit blödem Licht,
Erröthend durch dein Zimmer,
Und weckt dich nicht.

Since the same metaphor is used by Goethe in his *Pandora*, Bielschowsky, in his distress, suggests that, unless both poets derived the metaphor from a common source, Lenz had heard it from Goethe at Strassburg. I need not add that I consider this the ridiculous subterfuge of a pseudo-philological method.

The form *schlagt* in the same strophe, which lacks the umlaut, is not as Bielschowsky thinks a mere makeshift for the sake of the rhyme, but the regular form derived from O. H. G. *slagōn*, *slagōta*, still used in Bavaria.¹

Finally the passage in which the hand of the great poet is manifest are the lines:

Erröthen und erblassen
Sieh sein Gesicht.

They suggest to me Sigfrid's thoughts in the famous strophe of the *Nibelungenlied* (284 L.):

Er dāhte in sinem muote: 'wie kunde daz ergān,
daz ich dich minnen solde? daz ist ein tumber wān.
sol aber ich dich fremden, sō waere ich samfter tōt.'
er wart von gedanken dicke *bleich unde rōt*.

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¹ See SCHMELLER, *Bair. Wörterbuch*, Vol. III, p. 439, and GRAFF, *Althochd. Sprachschatz*, under *slagōn*.

THE INFLUENCE OF THEATRICAL CONDITIONS ON SHAKESPEARE.

THERE is an idea now current that to appreciate a play thoroughly one must see it on the stage, that a play which is not good when acted is simply good for nothing, that "literature," so-called, in a play is dead weight, that to read a play is but second-rate amusement. I am fond of the theater myself and know that there are many things that come out on the stage that are missed in reading. But I cannot feel quite satisfied that the stage is everything: I have something of a notion that there may be very good literary plays that do not do on the stage, and very good stage plays that do not get into literature, and that the greatest plays serve both purposes.

Surely the drama is a convenient literary form. Take plays like *Prometheus Unbound*, *Pippa Passes*, *Atalanta in Calydon*—shall we say "It would be better if the authors had expressed themselves in some other way?" Who can tell us in what way poets should express themselves? I should not care to take the responsibility. As a rule I have not much sympathy with the idea of a "closet-play." Almost any good play can be acted: certainly literary plays often fail on the stage, but so also do stage plays. The only difference, then, is that when the literary play has failed, there is still the pleasure of reading it, but when the stage play has failed there is nothing left of it at all. Many plays that seem like absolute closet plays may be given on the stage as successfully as some plays that were written entirely for performance.

So I do not think we can uphold the stage at the expense of literature. It will always be more popular to do so, for more people like the stage than like literature, and such will be the case till culture is far more universal than it is today. But each art has its own particular pleasure. Reading plays is fortunately an intelligent delight—fortunately, because otherwise we should

have lost almost entirely the greatest dramas of the world, of antiquity, and of our own time as well.

Still there is certainly something in the question of stage presentation. It may be mere curiosity that makes one want to know what a Greek theater was and how it was different from ours. Undoubtedly much of the poetry of Sophocles, of the fun of Aristophanes, would be ours if we had no idea at all of the theater for which their plays were written. But that theater was so very different from ours, that whatever pleasure we get from reading the plays in ignorance of it, must be very different from the pleasure intended by the authors themselves.

So with Shakespeare. With Shakespeare's plays most of all we hesitate to say that we must see them rather than read them, that the stage is the final test, that there is not much in the plays that the stage cannot bring forth. But Shakespeare's plays were written for the stage and chiefly for the stage. Certainly we may imagine Shakespeare as a great genius writing for posterity. So he was. But he was also an Elizabethan actor and dramatist, belonging to a particular dramatic company and writing his plays for a particular set of actors and a particular audience. And since he was a successful dramatist and, as is otherwise thought, a very good business man, it is probable that he intended his plays first for presentation in the very place where they were presented.

When they are presented today they are not presented as he imagined them. Many will say that they are better presented. It may be so; it is certain that they are otherwise presented. Hence the reason why, for the reader, it is worth while to see what can be done in reconstructing in the imagination the conditions under which Shakespeare wrote and to try to form an idea of what results those conditions had upon his dramatic art. Then we shall make the correct allowance, more or less consciously, as we read and so get a better idea of the plays and the man himself.

A thorough development of this idea is yet to be made. Not a little has been written on the Elizabethan stage and not a few remarks have been made upon the influence of particular conditions here and there upon Shakespeare. A short study like this cannot pretend to deal thoroughly with such a subject, yet so far

as it goes it is believed to be sufficiently complete. It presents the usage of Shakespeare in the most important directions, as gathered from a comparison of his plays. A comparison of the material so gained with the vast field of Shakespearean literature would take us far beyond our present bounds, and yet it is hoped that not much is given that will duplicate previous studies, or differ from them without reason.

The conditions of the Elizabethan stage are in a general way familiar to us. There are questions of importance still undetermined. The relative proportions of the upper stage and the lower (as we may call the two parts separated by the pillars in DeWitte's sketch) are unknown to us. This question is of great archaeological importance, but of less from our standpoint. It would be well to know precisely the size of the upper stage, whether it was a step or two above the lower, how far the balcony extended over it, whether the spectators looked into it from the sides, and some other matters. But the main matter of importance is that there was such a division of the stage and that the upper part could be screened from the audience. Much the same thing might be said of the balcony. Did it roof the upper stage and convert it into a kind of alcove, or did it merely extend out into it, or was it a sort of loggia not extending out from the tiring-house at all?¹ These matters and some others² ought to be settled, but for our present purpose they are not of capital importance. It will be possible therefore to begin at once with a consideration of the influence of these matters upon Shakespeare's dramatic handling.

Turning then to the material conditions, we may begin with the amphitheatric form, which was general with the public theaters. Whether circular, octagonal or square, the public theaters were practically amphitheatres, according to their natural descent from the pageants of the mystery plays, which stood in the street surrounded by the spectators, from the inn-yards, where the

¹ My own view I add with diffidence, for I cannot marshal much archaeological evidence to support my impression from the plays. It is to the effect that the balcony extended over the upper stage, which became a kind of alcove.

² The present article was in print before I had seen the article by W. S. LAWRENCE in *Englische Studien*, Vol. XXXII, Heft 1. His view of the "traverses" might alter some of my remarks upon the use of the upper stage. It would not, I believe, change my general conclusions.

spectators were on three sides at least, and, it may be added, under the natural analogy of the bull-ring and bear-ring. Shakespeare's plays were given in what he calls in the Prologue to *Henry V* "a wooden O," "a cockpit," "the girdle of these walls."¹ In other words the audience was sitting all around the actors, or, more exactly, on three sides of them. Add to this the fact that the lower stage was often encumbered with spectators and we have a condition very different from our own. Leaving out of account a number of minor considerations, such as the importance now laid upon stage grouping and the movement of actors, we shall note readily one very important general difference, namely that the action of a Shakespearean play had to be simple and essential, and was otherwise of less importance than dialogue. There are scenes on the modern stage where minor action, stage business, is very important. In *Iris*—to take the work of a modern master of stage-craft—there is a scene where a man observes the fragments of a letter in the scrap basket or on the floor. He manages to put the letter together and read it, while talking to somebody else, and the incident is of considerable importance. Similar business occurs in a good many modern plays. Such things one would say were quite impossible to the Elizabethan—I remember nothing quite so specific. The Elizabethan had to be simple in his action and it was necessary therefore to increase the importance of his dialogue. Thus we have one great difference between Shakespeare and our own drama, and one reason why Shakespeare on the stage today does not always have the popular success of many ephemeral things.

When Hamlet says (II, ii, 448), "We'll e'en to't like French

¹The usual pictures, both contemporary and modern, give a form to the theaters that would not be of much use for anything more than a cockpit. The familiar form has a height about equal to its diameter or even greater. The height cannot have been much more than thirty feet: if that were the diameter, when you allow a few feet on each side for the boxes, a few more on each side for the pit, you will have very little left for the stage. It seems as if this must be incorrect, contemporary pictures and all. The Fortune Theater was eighty feet in diameter by thirty-two high and had a pit of fifty-five feet across, in which stood the stage. Probably the Globe had as much room, or a diameter, say, two and a half times its height. It would then have resembled, in proportions, the bull-ring and the bearing (as they appear on Stilliard's map) which were buildings the theaters might naturally have been modeled after. Indeed, the Paris Garden was used both for plays and baiting, and the (imaginative) picture of it in the second volume of COLLIER, looks about the same as the pictures of the Globe and the Swan in the other volumes, all three being about as available for dramatic purposes as a new factory-chimney would be.

falconers, fly at anything we see: we'll have a speech straight: come, give us a taste of your quality: come, a passionate speech," he shows the importance of declamation. Such a request made in our generation of any great Shakespearean actor except Edwin Booth would not have brought forth the best results. But since declamation or delivery was a matter of prime importance in Shakespeare's day, it is the main thing that Hamlet deals with in his subsequent address to the players, where he refers to hardly any other element of the actor's art. We might have readily inferred as much from the plays themselves which have a great number of rhetorical speeches, soliloquies and addresses. A stage like our own, where the actors have minor ability in declamation, cannot bear long speeches: a stage where declamation is still a matter of devoted study, like the French, has frequent examples of them. That such rhetorical declamation in Shakespeare's day was more particularly the characteristic of tragedy than of comedy, is possibly due to the effect on dramatic tradition of the tragedies of Seneca. Like the case in *Hamlet*, Bottom's allusion in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, I, ii, 27-41, seems to be to tragic declamation, for I take it that "to tear a cat, to make all split" meant to rant. But the declamation was not merely tragic; in comedy as well there were these long speeches, the chief difference being that in comedy the longer speeches were more usually poetical, and in tragedy rhetorical.

When we imagine a poetic and rhetorical drama rather than one which was representative and spectacular even in a minor degree, we are at once led to that best known characteristic of Shakespeare's stage, that it had no scenery. The first mention of a painted back scene in England is said to be in 1605. I understand that there was something of the sort in Italy rather earlier. This point like some others is of archæological rather than literary importance. As a general fact it seems sufficiently attested. Further it may be remarked that the lack of scenery did not come from lack of knowledge. Rather does it belong to the amphitheatric audience and is necessitated by it. In the masques which were usually given indoors, there was scenery of one sort or another, which could be properly seen, for the masque must, as a

rule, have been given at one end of a room while the audience sat at the other. But whether the lack of scenery were enforced or not, its effect would have been in the direction already mentioned. As the central stage made up for the minor importance of action by emphasizing declamation, so the lack of scenery led Shakespeare to hold in a general way that the proper expression of dramatic thought was not scenic so much as poetic.

This stage not only had no scenery but practically it had no curtain.¹ It was divided by two pillars, between which was a curtain, into two stages, the upper next the tiring-house, which could be shut off, and the lower which was always in the view of the audience. This circumstance also was of importance.

The first effect of this lack of curtain is immediately obvious. As it was impossible for Shakespeare to find his actors on the stage or to leave them there — as they always had to walk on and off — he could never have those pictures and situations at the beginning of an act and at the end, that are so important in the modern drama. Imagine a modern play with no situations at the end of the acts and you will see one great difference between Shakespeare's drama and ours. The main effects of that difference are at once perceivable: Shakespeare is apt not to use the end of the act as a modern dramatist does. Some plays have effective ends to the acts but some acts have final scenes which are quite unimportant. The second and third acts of *Julius Cæsar* end with very unimportant scenes. The second and third acts of *Macbeth* end with a device to be noted later.² The second and fourth acts of *King Lear* end with half a dozen speeches after the main situations. The first and second acts of *Othello* end with soliloquies by Iago. The result of such scenes is that

¹ Such was not the opinion of Collier and is not the opinion of some scholars today. Collier had never seen the sketch of DeWitte and seems led to his belief largely by the name "The Curtain" given to the second theater in the city, which J. A. Symonds explains, very probably, in quite a different way. There is a good deal of evidence which seems to me to favor chiefly a curtain in front of the upper stage only. For example, the lines in MARSTON'S *What You Will*, quoted by COLLIER, III, 339, to illustrate the fact that there were spectators on the stage. Atticus says, "Let's place ourselves within the curtain, for, good faith, the stage is so very little." This makes it clear that "the stage" was not "within the curtain." In the *Spanish Tragedy*, IV, iii, we have the stage direction, "Enter Hieronimo. He knocks up the curtain." He must, then, have been outside the curtain and in view of the audience. The practical difficulties of a curtain on a stage that had three sides open seem to me very great.

² See p. 18.

the edge of each act is softened down, as we may say, so that there is often hardly any difference between the acts at all. As is well known, the early editions sometimes mark the acts and sometimes do not. But the matter was evidently not one of the first importance. Hence Shakespeare's plays have movement, and lose by being interrupted by the long waits between the acts that our scenery calls for.

A point worth noting here is that the lack of a curtain compelled Shakespeare to see to it that all dead bodies were somehow or other removed. He sometimes obviates this difficulty as in the last scene of *Othello*,¹ but in *Hamlet* his device gives distinct character to the end of the play. At the theater nowadays the play generally ends with the death of Hamlet: Mr. Sothorn some years ago began to give the play with the full ending. The funeral procession of Hamlet was a noble sight, but it was originally caused by stage necessity. Other examples of the same thing are more comic than anything else, as when Falstaff bears the dead Hotspur out on his back, (*1 Henry IV*, V, iv, 131) and Hamlet lugs Polonius out (*Hamlet*, III, iv, fin.) and hides him under the stairs. Shakespeare certainly manages the conventional necessity in a fresh and original way. The Bastard tells Hubert (*King John*, IV, iii, 139) to carry Arthur out in his arms. Aufidius himself (*Coriolanus*, V, iv, 150) will join the three chiefest soldiers to bear Coriolanus to his urn. The historic malmsey butt gives the reason in *Richard III* (I, iv, 277). Cornwall orders the servant to be thrown upon the dunghill (*Lear* III, vii, 96). Hector is dragged out to be bound to Achilles's horse (*Troilus and Cressida*, V, viii, 21). Nothing is said of the disposal of Banquo's body, which leads me to think that it may possibly have been thrown down the trap. In III, iv, 26, the murderer says he lies in a ditch. Collier, III, 364, quotes the use of the trap for a ditch from *The Valiant Welshman*. Sometimes Shakespeare has his killing done off the stage as in *Macbeth* (V, viii, 54), where the head of the tyrant is borne in upon a spear.

The living actors Shakespeare got rid of in simpler fashion. Generally no expedient is necessary, but it is remarkable how

¹ See page 9.

often a word or two at the end gives the idea of going away. In *The Tempest* every scene ends in such a manner, nor is it uncommon in other plays.

Readers of the modern editions will observe some cases which may seem difficult. Thus in *King Lear*, IV, vii, the modern stage direction at the opening of the scene is "Lear on a bed asleep." In the Folio he is borne in on a chair, like Cassio in *Othello* (V, ii, 282 Q₁), Bedford in *1 Henry VI* (III, ii, 40), and probably John of Gaunt, *Richard II* (II, i).

But although there was no curtain for the whole stage, it seems that there was one over a part of it. DeWitte's picture shows two pillars upon the stage, about two-thirds back, and it is generally thought that a curtain was hung between them which could be opened or closed. This gave something of an opportunity which Shakespeare made use of. It was possible even to use it as the curtain is now used, for discovering characters at the beginning of the act, and for situations at the close. But Shakespeare does not seem to have done so to any great extent. In *Othello*, I, iii (Q_q) we have the stage direction: "Enter Duke and Senators set at a Table with lights and attendants." Here probably enough they were discovered on the upper stage already seated. But such cases are rare and there are more examples where Shakespeare avoids such discovery, as in those just quoted where a sick man is carried in on a chair.

This upper stage gave no such opportunity as the stage carpenter now gives the dramatist, but still it was something. The upper stage could represent a place different from the lower stage—it might be the inside of a house while the outer stage was a street; it might be an inner room or something of the sort. In *Hamlet* it served as the stage for the play, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* for the Athenian clowns' presentation. But Shakespeare used it in many other ways. In *Cymbeline*, III, v, the upper stage is a cave, and so in *Timon*, IV, iii. In *The Tempest* (V, i, 171) it is Prospero's cell, whatever that was. In *Richard II*, I, iii, the King (Q₁) sits on the upper stage while the lower represents the lists at Coventry, and the same arrangement occurs in *King Lear*, V, iii. In *Romeo and Juliet* it is the tomb

of Capulet, and the curtain is drawn aside (V, iii, 148) to expose Juliet to view. In *The Merchant of Venice* it served to conceal the caskets.

By means of this curtain, also, there was possible a sort of scenic division, as we may call it. Thus in *Romeo and Juliet*, IV, iii, Juliet lays herself upon her bed on the upper stage, which was for the time her bedroom. The curtains are drawn and scene iv is given on the lower stage. The nurse enters in scene iv and (l. 17) draws the curtains and discovers Juliet. In this case, it will be remarked, the body of Juliet is not removed; the curtains are drawn again and we have the comic scene in front. The same arrangement was made in *2 Henry IV*, IV; scene iv was given in front before closed curtains: the King is then led "into another chamber," and in scene v is discovered lying on a bed. In *Othello*, V, i, the action takes place in the street in Cyprus. The actors go out and the stage becomes Othello's house. Othello enters and the curtain is drawn showing Desdemona on the upper stage in bed. At line 103 he draws the curtain to and the rest of the action takes place on the lower stage. When Othello kills himself he falls on the bed on the upper stage and the curtain is drawn to in obedience to Lodovico's "Let it be hid," which obviates the necessity of carrying off the body, of which nothing is said.

Sometimes the upper stage was a convenient place to hide in, or half hide. So Polonius behind the arras, *Hamlet*, III, iv, 7. So Prince Hal and Poins in *2 Henry IV*, II, iv, 252, stand, disguised, in the folds of the curtain and hear Falstaff boasting, and in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (III, iii, 99) Falstaff hides behind it himself. When he wished characters to enter at a distance, Shakespeare could bring them in on the upper stage while the others were on the lower, or vice versa. Thus Portia and Nerissa enter, presumably on the lower stage, while Lorenzo and Jessica, already on the upper stage are supposed to be in Portia's own house. She looks at them evidently from a distance for she says:

That light we see is burning in my hall:
How far that little candle throws his beams.

—*The Merchant of Venice*, V, i, 80.

The candle, here as in *Othello*, V, i, would seem to be on the upper stage, which was (according to my conception) more shut in and more easily darkened than the lower. So Hamlet and Horatio enter at a distance in *Hamlet*, V, i, 62; Julia and the Host in *The Two Gentlemen*, IV, ii, 26.

Over the upper stage, either wholly or in part, was the balcony. Of course, everyone will think of Juliet's balcony. Did the regular balcony, always there, suggest that beautiful scene? We need not trouble ourselves to determine. Certainly it would not have been so likely to come to mind, had it not been that the particular means for presenting it were ready to hand. The balcony served Shakespeare for various purposes. In *The Tempest*, III, iii, 19, it seems to have no representative character at all; but generally it takes the place of a bit of scenery. Sometimes it is the wall of a town. From it the unfortunate Arthur flung himself down in *King John*, IV, iii, 8, and is found by those who enter on the stage below. On it appear the citizens of Angers, *King John*, II, i, of Harfleur, *Henry V*, III, iii, of Orléans, *1 Henry VI*, I, iv, and of many other towns. Often it is a window: here Silvia listens to Eglamour, *Two Gentlemen*, IV, iii, 4, and to Proteus, IV, ii, 84, and Jessica to Lorenzo, *The Merchant of Venice*, II, vi, 25.

In the stage was a trap, whether in the upper stage or the lower, I cannot say. Shakespeare, however, uses it but little. It was Ophelia's grave in *Hamlet*, V, i; in *Titus Andronicus*, II, iii, it was a pit; in *Macbeth*, IV, i, it served as a means for the apparitions to appear or disappear. Sometimes the actor spoke from under the stage (as the Ghost in *Hamlet*, I, v). The stage itself in some cases was paled in, and in others an open scaffolding.

Lastly must be mentioned the tiring-house which stood at the rear of the stage and made a permanent back scene. Its importance in putting a play on the stage was small. It had two doors which are sometimes used, as in *Richard III*, III, vii, when Gloster enters at one door and Buckingham at the other. So in the first scene of *Titus Andronicus* and in the dumb show in the second act of *Pericles*. The doors, or one of them, seem to have served as the doors of a house on various occasions, as in *The*

Comedy of Errors, III, i. Here Dromio of Ephesus knocks on the door and Dromio of Syracuse answers from indoors. It may be that the door of the tiring-house is used, and it may be merely the curtain in front of the upper stage. The former arrangement is the more likely: Dromio speaks from *within*. This word is common in the stage directions, for anything said off the stage. Nowadays *without* would seem more appropriate, but presumably the meaning was "within the tiring-house," which was indeed the natural place for an actor who was not on the stage. If he were not there it is hard to think where he was, unless on the upper stage with the curtain down, in which case some such direction as *behind* would seem more natural. Like this case in the *Comedy* is apparently one in *The Merry Wives*, I, i, 175, where Evans knocks at the door and Page within the tiring-house answers and then enters by one of the doors.

A scene of some interest from the standpoint of stage-setting is the first of Act I of *Titus Andronicus*, which I note in spite of the disputed authenticity of the play. At the beginning senators and tribunes enter "aloft," namely on the balcony. From the two doors, respectively, of the tiring-house, enter Saturninus and Bassianus and pass to the lower stage. They address the senators. Marcus Andronicus enters on the balcony. Then Bassianus and Saturninus, dismissing their soldiers, "go up into the senate house." Then comes the procession of Titus Andronicus on the lower stage, and shortly the tomb of the Andronici is opened and the coffins are laid therein. Saturninus "comes down," but subsequently appears aloft with Tamora and others. Shortly the balcony is emptied and Titus and Marcus bury Mutius in the tomb. Then Saturninus and Bassianus and others appear again at the two doors at the back. The correct disposition of all this action is not certain. But probably "aloft" always means the balcony. When Saturninus and Bassianus go up into the senate house they may go up into the balcony, or may merely "go up" in modern stage parlance into the upper stage. If they go up into the balcony, the tomb of Andronicus may be in the upper stage. As it seems more likely that the trap was in the lower stage, we should do better to imagine the tomb on the lower

stage. If this conjecture be correct, the upper stage might represent the senate house, as it does in *Julius Cæsar*, and we should then have in this scene all the resources of Elizabethan stage carpentry brought into play, the descendants of the three stages of the mystery plays.

Such was the general structure of the stage and Shakespeare's recognition of it. On this stage so bare of everything that we think necessary, yet having its own capabilities for the inspiration of poetry, were actors who in their turn were very different from the actors whom we think of, and governed by very different conventions.

Their costume, for one thing, was quite different from our idea. It was often splendid and rich, but it had one singular characteristic: it was always the costume of the day. So far as costume was concerned, the actors could not be distinguished from the spectators who sat upon the stage. Just how long this habit lasted I cannot say: there is a tradition that Garrick played Macbeth in a scarlet officer's coat and a full wig, and a good deal more of the same kind of thing. However long the custom may have lasted, it was in vogue in Shakespeare's time. The actors often bought the clothes of noblemen and gentlemen, worn on a few occasions and then in that extravagant time put away. And these costumes they wore for all plays alike. Cæsar and Brutus, Prospero and Miranda, Troilus and Cressida, the inhabitants of Illyria and Ephesus, of the sea-coast of Bohemia and the forest of Arden, all alike wore the costume of the reign of Elizabeth. Certain special costumes there were—armor, for instance—some imaginative costume for nymph of the sea or fairy of the wood, a conventional robe for those supposed to go invisible. Certain definite conventions they had, as that a person must be dressed with due observance of his rank. But no sort of historical accuracy was attempted.

Thus it is that in *Julius Cæsar* the Romans of the republic speak of their hats and doublets and coats; in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* the ancient Athenians talk of cloaks, hats, and ribboned pumps. This was natural, for they actually wore cloaks and doublets, hats, and ribboned pumps. But from these

anachronisms it followed that the Elizabethan audience and the Elizabethan playwright tolerated other anachronisms as well, which have somewhat troubled too accurate critics. Thus Brutus says "Peace, count the clock," and Cassius answers "The clock hath stricken three" (II, i, 192, 193). Of course there were no striking clocks in Cæsar's day, but a Roman in doublet and hose could count the clock as easily as he could look at a clepsydra. So Brutus turns down the leaf of the book he is reading and puts it in his pocket (IV, iii, 273, 253), although the Roman book was quite different from our own, and the toga had no pockets.

These anachronisms have nothing to do with the spirit of the piece. Nowadays the dramatist thinks it well to be an archæologist or an antiquarian, and it is no harm, perhaps, if he have some original power. And yet there is always a temptation, where all the accessories are very exquisite and quite perfect, to pay so much attention to matters really trifling in themselves that some great things go by default. Shakespeare does not do so. He cared so little for absolute historical accuracy that he was well content to get all his data from a translation of Plutarch. That fired his imagination and he drew figures that fire ours.

The Elizabethan stage, although it sought no realism in costume, seems to have gone farther in the matter of properties. Shakespeare's plays call for a good many properties. There is a list of them in Appleton Morgan's edition of *Titus Andronicus*.¹ It is not quite complete, because it includes only those that are mentioned in the stage directions and does not take account of those which are necessitated by the dialogue. But, whether sufficient or not, the list is longer than Henslowe's inventory of properties,² so that it is a fair inference that Shakespeare was at least abreast of the times in this respect. Among the so-called properties in Henslowe's list are a bay tree, a tree of golden apples, a tantalus tree. Did Shakespeare need a property tree when Maria bid Sir Toby and the rest hide in the box-tree,³ or when Ariel hung the glistening apparel upon the line?⁴ He

¹ Bankside Edition, pp. 22-24.

² *Twelfth Night*, II, v, 18.

³ COLLIER, Vol. III, p. 354.

⁴ *The Tempest*, IV, i, 193.

gives no stage directions, and I suppose he needed them no more than he needed anything to represent the "pleached bower, where honeysuckles ripened by the sun forbid the sun to enter." So much realism was not necessary; it was even contrary to his feeling, I take it, partly because of the necessary incongruities involved. Shakespeare's practice may be inferred from one rather curious instance. One of the properties of the day was the hobby-horse. The admiral's men had one, and also a great horse with legs, whatever that was. Generally the legs of the actor must have served, for we have pictures of men walking about with these inconvenient hoopskirts. With all this possibility, however, of hippodromic effect, Shakespeare does not show himself eager to employ it. I remember no instance at all where a horse is necessary. In one case where it is not necessary external evidence shows that it was sometimes employed. Simon Forman in telling of how he saw *Macbeth*, says that at the beginning *Macbeth* and *Banquo* are riding through the wood. They may surely have been on hobby-horses, but the hobby-horse is not called for in the play. In fact just the reverse is the case in that play and some others: not only are there no horses in the play, but possible horses are kept out. Thus in the same play when *Banquo* comes in from his ride it is particularly explained that he has left his horse and is walking to the palace on foot (III, iii, 13). In *1 Henry IV*, II, ii, 80, the traveler on entering says: "Come, neighbor, the boy shall lead our horses down the hill: we'll walk awhile." Of *Richard III* it is explained: "His horse is slain and all on foot he fights, seeking for Richmond" (V, iv, 4). *Lear* calls for horses and when they are ready leaves the stage to mount (I, iv, 275). *Petruchio*, about to ride with *Katharine* to his father-in-law's, orders his horses to be brought to Long-lane end, and says they will go thither on foot (IV, iii, 187). Why all this pains to explain why they had no horses when they might have had hobby-horses? I suppose that Shakespeare did not like hobby-horses. Perhaps they seemed to him ridiculous. They certainly would seem so to us. A *Richard Third* coming in on a hobby-horse to fight *Richmond* is certainly a less dramatic figure than the desperate villain rushing in on foot,

with the cry "My kingdom for a horse." No; if Shakespeare uses no horses, it is not because, as in the old song,

For oh, for oh, the hobby-horse is forgot,

but rather because he wishes you, as he says in the prologue to *Henry V*, to

Think when we talk of horses that you see them.

Another theatrical condition was that there were no women on the stage. Shakespeare had to commit his women's parts—Juliet and her nurse, Portia, Viola, Beatrice, Lady Macbeth—he had to commit them all to the tender mercies of boys. How the boys did we have, I believe, no very specific record. It seems to us nowadays as if they could not have done their parts well. They may have done as well, however, as Mme. Bernhardt as Hamlet or Miss Adams as the Duc de Reichstadt. We have all probably seen young men in girls' parts who were extremely good, and doubtless the Elizabethan boy actors were very clever. However it may have been, Shakespeare was certainly not so discouraged by his boy-actors that he did not put forth all his efforts in his heroines. It has been thought that Shakespeare took pains to have his women simple and uncomplicated, in comparison with his men. Something of the sort may be the case. Mme. Bernhardt finds none of Shakespeare's women as attractive as Hamlet. Perhaps his women are simpler than his men: Mr. Ruskin is sure that they are, as a rule, better, and as it is badness that complicates matters in this world, that may be because Shakespeare wanted them simpler. Still Lady Macbeth and Cleopatra are not very simple characters. But I do not seek to determine this matter. I wish to call attention to another matter already well known.

Shakespeare used one expedient in his earlier days, and, having found it successful, he repeated it over and over again, as was his invariable custom. He put Julia into doublet and hose, and finding that she did well, followed with Portia, Jessica, Rosalind, Viola, Imogen, some of his most charming characters. Did he think that they would be able to do the thing better? Or did he think there would be a sort of added piquancy in having these

young fellows pretend to be in disguise when they were really quite in their own element. I shall not try to answer the question. The chief examples all come along in a few years; it may be that Shakespeare at that time had a leading lady, as we may call him, who was good in all else than managing his skirts. However we look at it we can see that we have here a man handling his means in a large and original way. Perhaps it was stage convenience, perhaps a subtle splitting of straws. In either case it was imaginative.

Another custom of the stage presented Shakespeare with a problem. It was the habit of the day to allow a good deal of extempore speaking, particularly on the part of the comic actors. Indeed, it seems to have been the case that in some plays the comic actors took possession of the stage between the acts for comic business that had no connection with the play at all. That must have been annoying to the author. There is little doubt that Shakespeare found it so; the language in Hamlet's address (III, ii, 42) has certainly a personal touch in it. He did not sit down tamely under the infliction.

We are often told that the way to do away with any evil is to substitute something better for it. That was what Shakespeare did. He saw the necessity of this comic business from a theatrical standpoint. The audience wanted it, and so did the actors. So he gave the comic actors better lines than they could themselves invent. In the comedies he created a splendid set of comic characters, generally having slight connection with the play, but doing much to create the full harmony of dramatic tone. With tragedy, however, it was a different matter; without nice handling, this comic business might easily be quite inappropriate and incongruous. There is an example in one of his plays that was written early and revised afterward. It may be that this scene escaped revision. The play is *Romeo and Juliet*, and the scene (IV, iv, 102 to end) is that between Peter and the musicians after the supposed death of Juliet. It is practically an entr'acte. The curtains of the upper stage are drawn, the serious actors withdraw from the stage and Peter amuses the audience. "To our minds," says Clarke, "the intention was to show how grief and gayety,

pathos and absurdity, sorrow and jesting, elbow each other in life's crowd." Perhaps it was. But it appears from an error in the quartos that this part of Peter was acted by Will Kempe, a great favorite with the audience. So it is not improbable that the scene was put in to give Kempe something to do. Kempe was doubtless amusing, but the scene certainly is not. Shakespeare had gone farther when he wrote the gravedigger's scene in *Hamlet*, and the porter's scene in *Macbeth*. Both, I take it, were introduced to give employment to the comic actor and both have found favor with critics and audiences. Undoubtedly Shakespeare saw that they were appropriate to their places; undoubtedly he knew that grief and gayety elbowed each other. But that was not the original reason for the scenes.

There are some other conditions to be noticed, not of the material stage, nor of the actors upon it, but part of the dramatic ideas and conventions of the time. It would be manifestly impossible as well as unnecessary to try to deal thoroughly with this subject; it would call for a sketch of the development of the Elizabethan drama. Some particular points, however, seem proper for mention here; one of them is the dramatic convention of prologue, epilogue, and chorus. Examples of all these can be found in Shakespeare, though not very frequently, and not always, as is conjectured, by his own hand. Thus *2 Henry IV* has an induction, *Henry V* a prologue spoken by Chorus, *Pericles* a prologue by Gower, *Henry VIII*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Romeo and Juliet* have prologues; *Romeo and Juliet* has a chorus between the first and second acts, *Henry V* has a chorus in each entr'acte, *Pericles* a chorus in each entr'acte, and two additional speeches by Gower of the same character in IV, iv, and V, ii; *The Tempest*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *As You Like It*, *All's Well* have epilogues spoken by an actor, *2 Henry IV* has one spoken by a dancer, *Henry V* one by Chorus, *Henry VIII* one by no particular person. But there are other endings: *Much Ado* and *As You Like It* end with a dance; *Love's Labor Lost* with the dialogue of Owl and Cuckoo; *Twelfth Night* with a song by the Clown. More often, however, Shakespeare does not use an epilogue; but the play ends with some words indicative of the players leaving the

stage, which in the lack of a curtain must have been the case. A number of the tragedies end with a funeral march or with some simpler bearing off the body. Where there is no body there is commonly a word or two to account for the actors taking their departure. One or two uses are noteworthy. *Richard III* has what is practically a prologue in the opening speech of Gloster. *Troilus and Cressida* has practically an epilogue in the speech of Pandarus. As for the chorus between the acts there is a singular instance in *Macbeth*. The last scenes in Acts II and III have been already noted as singular scenes for the end of an act, according to modern ideas. But, according to the necessities of the stage, we cannot really say that these scenes actually do belong to the acts to which they are assigned. What probably happened was that the important scenes II, iii, and III, iv (or v, if that be considered Shakespeare's) came to an end and the actors left the stage. In each case there was something that Shakespeare wished to present in narrative form and not dramatically. This was the opportunity for chorus. Instead of the conventional expedient, Shakespeare puts in a short scene between minor characters for the same purpose.

Another artificial means of detailing action in the older drama was the dumb show. This expedient Shakespeare practically does not use, unless we consider *Pericles*; it occurs in the plays within a *Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Hamlet*. But it is a crude dramatic expedient, not only incongruous with the representative drama of today, but also with the poetic drama of Shakespeare.

Such are the chief ways wherein Shakespeare was influenced by the dramatic conditions of his own time; they show quite clearly that the Elizabethan play was something very different from what we have naturally in mind. To that difference we may ascribe much of the present unpopularity of the greater part of Shakespeare on the stage and, more important, by recognizing that difference, we may form a more exact idea of the aims of the dramatist.

There have been of late not a few attempts to give Shakespeare's plays under Elizabethan conditions. Of these many may have been archaeologically correct, but none was aesthetically so.

To tell the truth, it is impossible by any act of imagination or anything else to put ourselves psychologically into the time of Shakespeare; and as an audience can never be an Elizabethan audience, so it would be futile to have the play an Elizabethan play, for even if the conditions were correct, *we* should be incorrect. But if one wishes to reproduce Shakespearean conditions, one must have not merely a stage without scenery, but several other things. One must have, to mention only essentials, a stage which can be seen from three sides, upon which actors in the costume of our own time come into the midst of the audience and declaim with little action and little truly representative effect. Not merely Beatrice and Benedick must appear in every-day clothes — that might seem natural — but Romeo and Juliet, Hamlet and Ophelia, Theseus and Hippolyta. Even then we should not get the Elizabethan effect, for the costume of the Elizabethan actor, though it was a costume of the day, was very often a very splendid costume. (So that really the most Elizabethan of us are those actresses in modern plays who are so careful about their elaborate dresses.) But this splendor of costume, like the meagerness of scenery, was rarely representative; it was, with few exceptions, entirely typical. A spoken drama, with typical action, scenery, costume—such was the Shakespearean play.

If we study more particularly the various points noted above, we shall see that the effect of any restriction was to diminish the possibility of the play, as we think of one, and to increase the poetic character; that the way in which Shakespeare used every means permitted to him was to diminish the realistic effect and increase the imaginative.

The central stage made stage grouping practically impossible and reduced action to its lowest and most general terms. The lack of a curtain made pictures and situations quite impossible and left the actor to walk on the stage, give his lines, and walk off. The lack of scenery made any real illusion out of the question. The lack of costume helped and also imparted what would have been horrible anachronisms to minds less intent than the Elizabethan on other matters. For with all these things absent there were yet other things. There was excellent declamation of

excellent poetry. If you could not see the fresh springs and the lush grass and the pines and cedars of the enchanted isle, you could at least hear of them and hear them spoken of in such a way as would last in the memory longer than any scenery that we have ever seen. And, not to be tedious, it was the same in other respects. Shakespeare's plays were given for people who had more of the delight of the eye in everyday life than we have and who needed it less at the theater, for people who had less poetry in their pockets and their parlors than we can get for a quarter, and who liked it therefore in public where they could get it as a child likes to get it now, without the trouble of reading.

The Elizabethan stage was an imaginative, suggestive matter. It is true that one afternoon, perhaps, Desdemona was seen behind the drawn curtains lying upon her bed, and that was fairly realistic. But the day before that same bedroom had been a cave, perhaps, and the next day it might be a tomb. It could hardly have seemed much more realistic in one case than in the other, because there could have been very little sense of realism in the spectator. Various little things go to show how wholly typical was the performance in either case. The stage during a tragedy is said to have been hung with black, which would have been quite unnatural from any representative standpoint. Certain conventional characters, like Gower and Rumor, were appropriate persons for narrative between the action, and wore typical costume. Half a dozen swordsmen on a side must have been enough to present a battle.

Yet this narrowly limited performance had certain possibilities and these Shakespeare used, and that in such a way as shows not only his natural familiarity with the stage but the imaginative taste with which he saw that some things would suit his purpose better than others. Where there was a considerable choice of properties it does not appear that he used any that were glaringly impossible, like the hobby-horse. We have no mention of any contrivance for drawing Ariel up in a chair, as would have satisfied other playwrights. We have no "terrible monsters made of brown paper;" whatever is terrible in *Macbeth* is independent of stage properties. So with his boy actors: though he could not

always do so, he readily took the chance of letting them appear more in their own element. The comedians of the company he sometimes turned to his purposes and sometimes turned himself to theirs, in both cases to our great gain. The old dramatic conventions like the chorus he generally discarded, sometimes writing a prologue or an epilogue and sometimes, perhaps, allowing some one else to do it for him. But he could also accomplish the same end in other ways, for he saw quite clearly the sense that lay behind those old forms, and what they did stiffly and crudely he could easily do in a manner that arose naturally out of his situations. And the positive possibilities, the variation of action by the two stages, the opportunities given by the mid-curtain, the slight differences permitted by the balcony, the use of the tiring-house and the double doors, by these simple means he made such variation in his dramatic poems as relieved what might have been monotonous as a mere declamation, and relieved it moreover in ways that were significant and full of meaning.

It seems evident enough that Shakespeare, besides being a great dramatist, was a thorough playwright in his interest in the stage and his knowledge of the possibilities of it, and in his cleverness and pleasure at theatrical manipulation. There can be little doubt that the theatrical world was often in his mind; if a study of his stage management were not sufficient, a note of the great number of his figures of speech drawn from the stage and its circumstance should convince anyone. A man uses metaphor freely, without thinking up what he will say, out of the material in his mind. This great number of figures shows us that ideas of the actor and the stage came often from Shakespeare's head to his hand.

Then finally—and, of course this is the main point—he used all these means, such means as he had, with the idea always in mind that one must feed the imagination, but not starve or surfeit it.

That was the idea to which he held fast. He saw it early in his career. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* he gives us a picture of the other thing. Bottom and Quince and Snout thought that nobody would understand their play unless they had everything very obvious. There was mention in the play of

moonlight and a wall. It would be very hard, they thought, to bring the moonlight into a chamber and also to arrange about the wall. They must manage to let the audience know that there was a moon and a wall. They thought of having everything real, as they do today, of opening the window and letting the moon shine into the hall and of bringing in a real wall. And when they couldn't do that, they had someone with a lantern for a moon and another covered with mortar and grouting for the wall. The result was that the audience laughed at them. "This is the silliest stuff that ever I heard," said the kind-hearted Hippolyta. "The best in this kind are but shadows," said Theseus, who was the typical man of action and held the poet, the madman, the lover, all pretty much of a muchness. "The best in this kind are but shadows; and the worst are no worse if imagination amend them."

"It must be your imagination, then," said Hippolyta, "and not theirs."

That was the point, and it is still. It must be your imagination that carries the thing through. And if you can imagine, then you may read a play, or see it on the bare Elizabethan stage, or see it in our finest spectacular setting, and you will get the life of it. Otherwise not. Otherwise no scenery and costume, nothing of all the elaboration of our day will give you anything but a vague titillation of the eye for a moment, or some sort of gratification of a common curiosity, but not the start and thrill that comes from a sudden imagination.

Imagination, realization, appreciation — we have various words which we use in a vague way, seeking for something that will express the idea that we have indefinitely in mind. It is not the only thing in art, it is true, but without it art may have many things of interest and yet be nothing worth having. Shakespeare saw the essential thing and either aimed at it or gave it naturally. That is one reason why his plays, though written for a stage of most feeble resources, last on into a day of most elaborate stage-setting and of most specific poetic appreciation.

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PRIMITIVE POETRY AND THE BALLAD.¹

I.

THE middle way in theories of the beginnings of poetry, of the origin of ballads, may be a way of pleasantness, but it is not a path of peace. Whoever chooses to walk in it will need from time to time refreshment of his courage by taking to heart such robust consolation as Goethe offers in the forty-ninth of the Venetian epigrams. From the right come voices which bid one accept poetry as children take sugar-plums, with the eyes fast shut. Poetry, says a pious and parochial critic in the *Nation*, is sacred, transcendental, "as incapable of analysis as that human soul of which it is the highest expression": a kind of codified hysterics is his way of dealing with the case. On the other hand, if one ventures to construct for primitive times a poetic process which differs from the modern way of composition, sharp rebuke comes from the left, from the rationalists, who accuse one of illicit traffic with a mystery and of worshipping an impossible "folk-soul." Indeed, Professor Brandl² not only charges the present writer with such an amiable heresy, but even credits him with representing American opinion upon this point—*furchtbare gunst dem knaben!* That pentecostal jest which Scherer made has not been sufficiently appreciated, it seems, by the languid sense of humor prevalent on this side of the Atlantic, and we are still in the toils of Jacob Grimm. But Professor Brandl is mistaken. Belief in miraculous and folk-made verse is dead and buried; and I, for one, object to any report of it as even nosed in the lobby of a theory which drives neither miracle nor common sense to an extreme. This theory holds the middle way. To base the investigation of poetry, which is a distinctly social art³

¹ See the new edition of SIR WALTER SCOTT's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, edited by J. F. HENDERSON, 4 vols., 1902; Blackwood, Edinburgh, and imported by C. Scribner's Sons, New York.

² Zur Kritik der englischen Volksballaden, in the *Festgabe für Richard Heinzel*, Weimar, 1898, pp. 54 f. May I suggest that Professor Brandl sows seeds of distrust in his ballad-criticism when he emends that familiar *bot and* of "Johnnie Cock" into *bot[h]* and?

³ GUYAU, *Problèmes de l'esthétique contemporaine*, p. 71.

and presents definite material for study, upon sociological as well as literary facts, to take account of economic conditions when dealing with an institution which has progressed with progressing culture, is a process which no more does away with ultimate mysteries of the human soul, whence poetry springs, than the study of biology does away with the ultimate mystery of life itself; while the assumption of communal and choral origins is sundered by the world's width from mere refuge in the miraculous.

Almost every modern writer in anthropology, ethnology, sociology—frontier lines are blurred on even the latest maps—grants a radical difference between primitive and civilized societies. Now, as poetry is a social art, it must differ in the two epochs, so far as it is social, in proportion as these two states of society differ. Taine's main thesis still stands: the making of poetry is conditioned by the character and environment of the makers. To this one must add the result of Hennequin's critical studies: the character and environment of the consumer should be taken into strict account. What, now, is this difference between primitive and civilized man? For my own part, I have seen nothing better than the formula of Alfred Vierkandt,¹ as set forth in his long but interesting study of the evidence. Despite a few apparent contradictions, which concern the tendency to exaggerate such a contrast between uncivilized, primitive man,² or even semi-civilized, barbarous man,³ and his modern representative, this difference, as Vierkandt points out, may be measured in times of culture by the increased importance and voluntary, rational activity of the individual. Here, however, occurs one of those cheerful inconsistencies which baffle the defender of communal beginnings in poetry. All hands are willing to accept a formula of individual importance in terms of progress, and they taunt him who proposes it, as if it were a commonplace; they concede even the decline of communal influences; and yet, when one undertakes to retrace the path of progress, to confront and approach the qualities opposed to individual importance, and to

¹ *Naturvölker und Kulturvölker*, Leipzig, 1896; see p. 171, and all of chap. iii.

² BÜCHER, *Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft*², 1898, *Der Urzustand*.

³ SEECK, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, Vol. I, p. 204 (*Die Germanen*), and *Anhang*, Vol. I, pp. 521 f.

make, in this instance, some fairly obvious inferences with regard to prehistoric verse, there is a cry of protest as against a new and fantastic theory. Here is simply the old Darwinian trouble in a field which folk still think sacred and secure against any invasion of science. To tell a man, or mankind itself, about huge strides of progress, is to flatter and please; to use this progress for inference about beginnings is altogether odious. In short, the proposition of individual growth is accepted, and the proposition of communal waning is tolerated; but the moment one begins with a "conversely," one meets a protest for which I can see no source outside of prejudice or misunderstanding. To overcome such prejudice, such misunderstanding, I can but appeal once more to the evidence of facts. True, when protest comes from hysterical persons who will not have poetry looked in the face, and who cling to a sort of Westminster catechism about genius¹ and the bard, there is nothing to be said, nothing even to be felt. Not *odi* but *arceo* is the verb for gentry of this sort. But the protest comes from scholars as well, and is referred to the facts in the case. What are the facts, then, which shall serve as evidence for or against the theory of prevailingly communal origins?

The facts are found not only in ethnology, but in folklore, and in what is called popular literature: that is to say, in songs and chorals of savage or barbarous tribes, as representative in some degree of primitive songs and chorals; in songs and chorals of labor, harvest, dance, as a survival of social poetry at large; and in the half literary ballads of Europe, as a link between poetry old and poetry new. To this material, under proper sifting and valuation, nobody objects save in the case of the ballads. Yet it is clear that if the ballads be admitted as evidence, their value is beyond price. Unlike the songs of savages, unlike the rude chorals of labor and the festal year, this ballad makes in some degree the modern appeal to lovers of good poetry; it attaches to conditions of incipient art, and yet holds in survival certain elements which make the communal appeal and go back to conditions

¹Not once, says M. BRUNETIÈRE, *Revue des deux mondes*, 1898, p. 884, not once, but ten times he has declared "that genius itself, if we really knew what it is that we call by this name, is often nothing more than a wide and more effective participation in all that constitutes the common treasure of humanity."

of primitive life. In short, such controversy as one meets in the attempt to establish communal beginnings for poetry, is sure to touch the difficult question of ballad beginnings; approval of the theory as a whole carries with it a belief in the dual origin of popular verse. My present concern is to reckon not with the approval¹ but with the hostile criticism; and this hostile criticism, as expressed by Professor Brandl in Germany, by Mr. Henderson in England, deals mainly with theories of the ballad. There is, however, one objection to the larger question, from a source entitled to all possible respect, which must be answered before the ballad is approached. Moreover, if this answer is in any way convincing, it will serve materially in defence of the related theory.

In a review² which approves the main thesis of my *Beginnings of Poetry*—the fundamental difference between primitive and civilized verse—Professor Grosse, nevertheless, maintains that I have made the primitive individual far too much of a *herdenthier*, and that I have made the primitive community far more homogeneous than it really was. Now, as I said above, when one declares that poetry grows more and more individual as it progresses, no objection is raised; but when one makes the simple inference that to retrace this path of individual progress is to come closer to communal origins, to see the individual wither, then there is a storm of protest. Even Professor Grosse joins, however courteously, in this irrational opposition. It is a perilous undertaking to call in question any statements about primitive life which are made by the author of *Die Anfänge der Kunst*; I am fain to think, however, not only that Professor Grosse's concession largely neutralizes his objection, but also that his doctrine of primitive individualism is at variance with the facts. To say that early man was a *herdenthier*, that early society was homogeneous, is a statement redeemed from the opposition of certain evidence on which Professor Grosse rests his case, as soon as one confines the statement to its proper range, to the actually social

¹ For examples of this approval, see the *Quarterly Review* for July, 1898, on English and Scottish Ballads, and a review in the *Athenæum*, February 22, 1902, of the writer's *Beginnings of Poetry*.

² *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, April 25, 1902, pp. 1084 ff.

part of primitive life. The individual amounted to little or nothing *when taken in terms of social organization*; and since it was only under conditions of social organization that poetry began, it is fair to say that in earliest poetry the individual counted for little or nothing compared with communal influences. One can grant this while conceding at the same time that primitive man was in some respects distinctly more individual, more wilful, capricious, unreasonable, insubordinate, than civilized man. So, too, civilized communities show, in certain phases, far greater coherence, more communal unity, than was ever reached by any primitive horde. This, however, is a voluntary coherence of thinking persons, not mere consent of kind with instinct at its strongest and reason at its lowest. Surely Vierkandt makes it clear that so far as intelligent and voluntary, not instinctive, manifestations of the individual are concerned, primitive man, like modern savages, showed the lowest grade of individuality; while—and here Professor Bücher's hints are of great value—the incipient social impulses necessarily involved such an entire subordination of the individual to the mass as is impossible under the rational conditions of modern life. Savages accept in an unreasoning way the most irrational practices prescribed by the custom of the tribe. True, for a wilful, capricious, often solitary person—savages still eat alone, like dogs—the curve of individualism in primitive man runs high; for a thinking, planning member of society, his line hardly leaves the level. To be a social person at all, he merged his incipient powers of thinking, planning, persevering, in the social consent of common deed and common expression. Now it is clear that, however long the period of transition,¹ this primitive, solitary man came to a point when he was compelled to be a social person. Sooner or later, the struggle for existence forced social unity upon him as alternative to extinction. Such unity or rather coherence was at first, to borrow a formula from logic, of the greatest possible extension and the smallest possible intension; rhythmic consent, for example, brought about emotional but not rational community,² an absolute

¹ Probably one of the "eternized problems." See BÜCHER, *Der Urzustand*, cited above, and KEASBEY, *International Monthly*, April, 1900.

² YEO HERN, *The Origins of Art*, pp. 88 f.

coherence in step, voice, feeling, but not that subordination of purposeful and intelligent minds to the interests of a commonwealth which makes democracy at its best. Yet even the beginnings of social consent held the seeds of this higher democracy, and in the first emotional community lay something of the spirit which rises to its noblest expression in the thought and act of Regulus, as idealized by Horace in his incomparable climax. Despite savage selfishness and stupidity on the individual side, some of the foundations for a state of the Periclean sort were laid in primitive emotional consent; and here, too, is the beginning of poetry, with the same consent of emotion, or sympathy, for its inner life, and with rhythmic consent of step and voice for its external sign. That poetry in this earliest stage served as vehicle for solitary and intellectualized emotion is as little to be assumed as the idea of intellectual and isolated patriotism.

But one clings to the individual poet. The poem, we are told, is his work; and his art, "*artium regina* . . . had her original from heaven, received thence from the Hebrews," and is not to be considered more curiously. Well, we love Ben; but that tidy formula of Heaven, Jewry, Greeks, Latins, and so to "all nations that professed civility," is no longer to be taken seriously as the track of poetic evolution. We now look narrowly at nations that professed and profess incivility; and in all the evidence which they afford for the case in point, but one fact can be adduced as proof for the doctrine that the poet preceded poetry. Leaning on the tale, the *märchen*, one propounds the entertainment theory, and puts into the foreground of the poetic process a maker of pleasure face to face with the throng, a primitive lyceum, with its primitive platform-man drawing alternate laughter and tears. Scherer takes this ground in his *Poetik*. The prose *märchen*, he says, is the start of all epic, making somewhere and somehow its perilous leap into rhythm by a process not yet indicated by patrons of the theory. Argument by definition, such inference from "invention" to a prime "inventor" runs counter to the sober facts of ethnology, sociology, and literature itself. Candid examination of these facts, and a study of the *märchen* in all its ways, refuse to give it equal date of origin with choral

song, not to speak of precedence. It was not a possible art, this communication between an entertainer and his public, until the public was an organized existence; and overwhelming evidence compels the assumption of choral song, rhythmic consent, emotional community, as prominent factors in the very creation of such a public. The individual made himself felt in primitive verse; but his activity began with the choral throng. Despite certain protests at the term as a scientific affectation, I think the fissiparous birth¹ of individual singing and poetry from choral singing and poetry to be an assumption based on evidence of facts. Such tendencies as are shown by this act belong to the development of poetry toward its present phase of solitary author and solitary reader; the individual traits, on which Professor Grosse insists, are of the elementary kind, are unsocial and of the original human stock, not only undisciplined by communal beginnings, but really hostile to any exercise of the poetic art. From communal poetry to individual poetry is a steady advance. Yet within this steady advance, taken as a whole and viewed in the course of ages, one must assume constant action and reaction of communal and individual elements as the pulse of poetic life. Even in such a definite and comparatively recent phenomenon as English literature, in its fourteen centuries of existence, one can detect a constant shifting from communal to individual domination, from individual to communal, as one epoch succeeds another. True, the whole course of literature has been to throw the individual poet into an increasingly strong relief; but under various disguises the communal impulse always manages to assert itself afresh, whether as convention, popularity, tradition, uniformity, and however fallen from its old estate of acknowledged and sovereign rule. The poet still appeals to that consent of emotion from which the earliest poetry sprang direct, and he still keeps time with that consent of emotional expression, rhythm of step and voice, in which his art began. These are the constant, the human elements of poetry. But the conditions of poetic expression differ as social conditions differ. That primitive poetic expression was prevailingly communal, seems, I think, a plain

¹ *Beginnings of Poetry*, p. 393.

inference from facts; and it differed to that extent from the individualized and intellectualized expression of today. I do not for a moment maintain that individual impulses did not assert themselves in earliest song; without them there can be no poetry at all; but what I urge is the great predominance of homogeneous and choral elements and the subordination of individual impulses. Professor Grosse says that I have "showed the fact, and given a reason for it, that social poetry in low stages of culture has a decided superiority over individual poetry," and I have proved "that the conditions, and hence the nature, of oldest poetry differ materially from poetry of later times." This is a handsome concession. And I venture to hope that the considerations just urged, along with others already set forth,¹ will convince him that the claim for a homogeneous condition of primitive verse-makers is not the unreasonable claim which he was inclined to call it.

Professor Grosse leans heavily on ethnological evidence in this case. The best book which has appeared for a long time in ethnological research is the account of Australian natives compiled by Spencer and Gillen.² This rich array of facts, so faithfully recorded, so intelligently used, could be quoted to sustain more than one phase of the general theory which I am trying to defend. It revives some seemingly beaten causes. Even promiscuity, despite Westermarck's conclusions, is restored at least to its belligerent rights; so, perhaps, is matriarchy. However that may be, there is no question that the evidence of this book, so far as it goes, makes for a communal theory of poetic beginnings. The iron tyranny of custom, of social tradition, over individual initiative; the relation of song and dance; the use of epic and dramatic elements—these and many other features of tribal life, recorded by an ethnological expert, point in but one direction. To transcribe the evidence about choral song as used at every stage of savage life and in all the doings of the tribe, would be to quote a good part of the book. Choral singing is everywhere. With constant repetition, with insistent burden,³ chanted now by

¹ *Beginnings of Poetry*, pp. 374-89, 462 f.

² *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, London, 1899.

³ See pp. 184, 191 f.—with specimen—290, 300: "singing for hours 'The sand hills are good.'"

the old men, now by the young men, now by women, now by all the tribe, it yields on occasion to an individual chant, mainly epic, which is clearly the offspring and never the parent of communal song. One may "sing" a weapon or the like; but such a ceremony as "singing the ground" in solemn choral¹ is clearly the older and festal custom. The solitary act, as ceremonial rite, must, in the nature of the case, derive from a public act. The medicine-man may mutter his *carmen*, and the entertainer may sing his epic solo in alternation with the chorus; but tribal incantation and choral singing are not only the prevalent fashion but are beyond all doubt the original social fact. Indeed, even recitation, on which some theorists lay such stress as precedent to singing, seems to be a negligible quantity with Australian natives of the primitive sort. A recent writer² says of their songs that "in some cases the words seemed designed to run in rhymes; but a decided rhythm recurring in lines of regular length, and *invariably chanted, never recited*, is the essential character of Australian poetry." He adds, too, that "almost every black fellow is a 'maker' of lyric verse," thus placing the development of the art in that stage of fissiparous birth from choral singing, where progress, that is, the making of other than traditional and ritual songs, is passing into the control of individual singers, but is not yet the monopoly of a few; and where poetry is still an integral part of public life and the most prominent feature in social tradition.

I can see, therefore, no misuse of ethnological evidence in thus taking the acknowledged formula of increased individual importance as something which implies the converse of the main proposition. In a second paper I shall essay a similar course with two qualities of modern poetry which are often associated in the formula of progress. The increase of sentiment and refinement, the energizing of poetic imagination, are among our commonplaces of criticism; but to retrace the path, to confront opposites, to deal in that wicked "conversely," is in some eyes to be of the heretics, if not to court critical inquisition and the

¹ See p. 293.

² JOHN MATTHEW, *Eaglehawk and Crow* (London and New York), 1900, p. 140.

stake. Perhaps, however, this prejudice may yield in the face of adequate consideration. Finally, by such a backward view at the qualities which sentiment has displaced, by such an attempt at a formula for the change from old objective force to new imaginative power, I hope to gain a comparatively untried point of view for a look at the controversy about ballad origins.

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THE INTRUSIVE NASAL IN "NIGHTINGALE."

IN a recent number of *Englische Studien* (Vol. XXVI, p. 2) Prof. Jespersen discusses the origin of the unetymological nasal in the modern form of the O.E. *nihtegale*. Rejecting, on good grounds, the suggestion offered in an *obiter dictum* of Dr. Sweet's (which, possibly, that distinguished scholar might not now care to defend), that *nizte-* became *niztin-* through association with *evening*, he points out that the phenomenon in question has an exact parallel in the forms *Portingale* (for *Portigale*, Portugal), and *martingale*, and a less close parallel in the well-known and extensive class of words exemplified by *passenger*, *messenger*, *harbinger*. The disappointing conclusion of the article is that no explanation is attainable. We can formulate the "law" that during the M.E. period a nasal was regularly inserted in tri-syllabic words between a vowel ending the middle syllable and a *g* or *dʒ* beginning the third syllable; but *why* this took place we have, Professor Jespersen seems to think, no means of conjecturing.

But let us examine all the known instances in which a nasal has been inserted in this position before guttural *g*. These are, *nightingale*, *Portingale*, *martingale*, and *fardingale*, which last Professor Jespersen has omitted. Now it is a decidedly suspicious circumstance that they all end in *-ingale*. So far as I know we do not find an unetymological *n* before *g* in any other word of the same rhythm, such as *herigaut*, *pedigree*, or *verdegreece*. The presumption therefore seems to be that we have not here to do with any unexplainable operations of phonetic law, but that the sound-sequence *-ingale*, owing to its familiarity as occurring in the common word *nightingale*, was instinctively substituted for the *-igale* of the less frequent words. The process is surely natural and ordinary enough. A person who was in the habit of using the word *nightingale*, but to whom *Portigale*, *martigale*, and *fardigale* were not quite so familiarly known, would almost inevitably mispronounce these latter; and indeed would very likely hear them wrongly as well.

If this be the correct explanation of the intrusive nasal in the later instances, the form of *nightingale* not only remains unaccounted for, but the change which it has undergone has not even been brought under any general formula. A possible solution, however, may perhaps be suggested by what has already been said. If an *n* has been introduced into three other words through the influence of *nightingale*, may not the *n* of *nightingale* itself be due to similar influence from some other word which had the nasal by etymological right? It may at first sight appear absurd to suggest that *niztegale* has been altered by assimilation to *galin-gale*. But the name of the root was probably in the fourteenth century more frequently on people's lips than the name of the bird, for *galingale* was an article of constant use, both in domestic medicine and in cookery. Those who know how addicted English rustics are to assimilative distortions even of quite common words will probably not think my suggestion altogether unlikely.

It may be worth while to mention that (as I have lately discovered to my own surprise) my natural pronunciation of *nightingale* is *nai-tinge*^l, with *n* and not *ŋ*. The dictionaries all apparently agree with me, though this may be because of the imperfection of their methods of notation. How people in general do pronounce the word I do not know; the reason why I find it easier to pronounce it with *n* than with *ŋ* is probably that the *t* makes the nasal homorganic with itself in spite of the tendency to be assimilated to the guttural of the next syllable.

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SONGS OF THE SPANISH JEWS IN THE BALKAN PENINSULA.

HARDLY anything has been done for the study of the language spoken by the Spanish Jews in the diaspora. Kayserling¹ and Danon,² who have made some valuable collections of proverbs and songs, unfortunately normalize the dialects in accordance with the Spanish language, until no semblance of the spoken form (except for some rare words) is left. Grünbaum,³ who has made a chrestomathy of Judeo-Spanish, has based his study exclusively on the printed books, normalizing everything to modern Spanish. Grünwald's⁴ few pages are almost the only attempt at formulating the grammar of the spoken form, but even this is quite unsuccessful.

In the summer of 1898 I passed a few days in the Balkan Peninsula. I there collected some thirty or forty songs from the mouths of the people. Time does not permit me to subject them linguistically or otherwise to an extended study, and work in another field makes it unlikely that I shall soon return to this interesting subject; hence I shall here offer the crude material, hoping that it may encourage others to make more extended and more thorough investigations.

The various dialects of the Spanish Jews seem to class themselves into two groups, which approximately coincide with the preservation of the old *f*, as *fižu* = "hijo," or the loss of it, *ižu*. The first fourteen songs were given to me by a resident of Belgrade, formerly of Bosnia; he attempted to pronounce in his native Bosnian dialect, which belongs to the group with the preserved *f*, but it is evident that his new surroundings and his knowledge of the printed Judeo-Spanish (as he was a teacher) have in places vitiated the dialect of his youth. The remaining

¹ *Biblioteca española-portuguesa-judáica*, Strassburg, 1890.

² In *Revue des Études Juives*, Vols. XXXII and XXXIII.

³ *Jüdisch-spanische Chrestomathie*, Frankfurt am Main, 1896.

⁴ *Zur romanischen Dialectologie*, Heft I, Belovar, 1883.

songs were given to me by unlettered women, professional singers at weddings in Sofia, Bulgaria, and belong to the other group.

I also met some Spanish Jews born and bred in Vienna. I noted down the following conversation and separate words, illustrative of the Vienna dialect:¹

Yō bēvu kavē i kōmu un pan blanku. El stomagu miyu non ari-yēva otu mōdu di pan. Agōra mi kompañeru si va a ir a la sivdat i muz² vāmus endžuntu a komēr. Despois de la komida muz vāmus a la kavané³ a beber un prētu. Despois muz vāmus a la kantseleriya. Ayi estāmus de las dōs asta las kwātru. Si ēs el tyempu ermōzu, vāmus a pasyar asta las sēs. Tōdus špañoles⁴ trezladan la kōza en ōtra manēra. Lus ečarum axwēra⁵ de la Špañā. Si xwērun a la Turkiya. No tupamus diferēnsya en la avla. Solu kē ēyus son mās ambizādus.⁶ Porkē no ēs viōrat.⁷ Čidyós.⁸ Pur enšemplu.⁹ Estonsis.¹⁰ Unu, dōs, trēs, kwatru, sinku, sēs, syēti, oču, muēvi, dyēs, ōnzi, dōdzi, trēdzi, katōrdzi, kindzi, dizisēs, vēnti, trēnta, kwarēnta, sinkwēnta, sisēnta, sitēnta, ōčēnta, nōvēnta, ayēn, duzyēntus, trizyēntus, kwatrušēntus, kiñēntus, šisēntus, sitisyēntus, ōčisyēntus, nōvisyēntus.

I.

Iskučediš,¹¹ fiža,¹² i metadiš myentis,
Kē a lus aženus fagaš paryentis!
Kē el fižu del ombri servidu kerī¹³ ser.

Iskučediš, fiža, i mitaš en tinu,
Kē lu kē yō vus digo kē nō lu perdaš del tinu!
Kē el fižu, etc.

Kwandu vereš, fiža, a vwestra siñora sfuegra,¹⁴
Tomalda¹⁵ por la manu, asentalda a vwestru ladu!
Kē el fižu, etc.

Kwandu vereš, fiža, kē grita siñora tia,
Mutisyon¹⁶ kē vus entri, kē nōn lē deš repuesta!
Kē el fižu, etc.

¹ In the following pages ē, ō mean closed (generally long) sounds; e, o = nasal e, o; ā = a in Eng. "fat," but shorter; z = Eng. z; ċ = Span. ch; ž = Fr. j; š = Fr. ch; δ = Eng. th in "this;" x = Ger. ch in "ach;" S. = Spanish; F. = my article on the Ferrara Bible, in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XI; H. = Hebrew; T. = Turkish; A. = Arabic.

² S. nos.

³ T. = "café."

⁴ So the Spanish Jews are called.

⁵ S. fuera.

⁶ S. judios.

¹¹ S. escuchar.

¹⁴ S. suegra.

⁸ "Educated."

⁹ "Example."

¹² S. hija.

¹⁵ S. tomadla.

⁷ S. verdad.

¹⁰ "Then."

¹³ S. quiere.

¹⁶ "Silence."

Kwandu vereš, fiža, al siñor kuñadu,
Tomaldu por la manu i muču onoraldu!
Kē el fižu, etc.

Kwandu vereš, fiža, a la siñora kuñada,
Tomalda por la manu: "Asentá, kuñada!"
Kē el fižu del qmbri servidu kerí ser.

II.

Yamó el Dyó a Mošé de la sarsa¹ mora
El lē respondyó en akeya ora,
I el lu dišera: "Kē mandí, Siñor?"
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu² nōn lu uvo³ tal siñor,
Komu Mošé Rabēnu i su ermanu Aaron.

"Ven akí, tu, Mošé, mi primer amadu!
Tu as di azer todus mis mandadus!
Kē kites a lus džidyós⁴ di galut⁵ pezgadu!"⁶
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu, etc.

Kēn⁷ a di ser, Siñor, mensažeru amadu,
A di ser dispiru i dispipitadu,⁸
Nōn, komu a mi, di luenga⁹ pezgadu!"¹⁰
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu, etc.

"Ka ya tu, Mošé, no favlis lukura,
Porkē yo krei toda kreadura,—
Ago favlar a niñu i a kreatura!"
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu, etc.

Ya si xwé¹¹ Mošé kun esti mandadu,
Lu topó a Paró en la mēza asentadu,
Komyendu i bevyendu i alegri di kurazon.
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu, etc.

Ya li favla Mošé en esti mandadu:
"El Dyó de lus džidyós mi a mandadu:
Kite a lus džidyós di galut pezgadu!"
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu, etc.

"Kēn es esti Dyó, kē mē vaš¹² favlandu?
Yō nōn lu kunosku! Ni a platikadu,
Ni un prezentiku nōn mi a mandadu!"
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu, etc.

¹ S. zarza. ² "Egypt." ³ S. hubo. ⁴ S. judios. ⁵ H. = "thraldom." ⁶ "Heavy." ⁷ S. quien.

⁸ "Clear and distinct." The origin of the words is not clear to me.

⁹ S. lengua.

¹⁰ "Heavy" (F.).

¹¹ S. huír.

¹² S. vais.

"Ka ya tu, Mošé, nōn tí tomiš anōžu:¹
Yō lē mandaré sarna i piōžus, langosta
i ranas amanožus,²

Iskuridat i tinyevla i makat bexorot!"³
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu, etc.

Ya si alevantó Paró kun todū su fonsadu.
Mandó, yamó a Mošé i Aaron, su ermanu:
"Salid di Ayiftu, porkē somus aboladus!"⁴
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu, etc.

Ya si xwé Mošé por la kaye andandu,
Buškandu a Yosef, ondi stava interadu.
Sarax, bat⁵ Ašer, lē a dinunsyadu:
En el Nilos lu ivan ečadu.
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu, etc.

Serka del Nilos el avia ayegadu.⁶
Vido a Yosef, kē iva nadandu;
Tomó lu a su ombru i iva kaminandu.
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu, etc.

Ya tomó Mošé kaminu en su manu:
Todus lus džidyós a el xwerun apañadus,—
Serka la mar xwerun podzadus.⁷
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu, etc.

"Ven akí, Aaron, mi primeru ermanu!
Da mi esta vara en la mia manu!"
El partió la mar, lus džidyós pasandu.
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu, etc.

Dodze ševatim⁸ por la mar pasarun.
Lus Mitsriim⁹ ivan apretandu,—
Entrandu en la mar si xwerun afogandu.¹⁰
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu, etc.

El Dyó kē mos¹¹ rexmyó¹² de galut pezgadu,
El mos rexmirá de esti galut, alargadu,—
Prestu verēmus el Santovaryu¹³ fragwadu.
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu, etc.

¹ S. enojo.

² Cf. S. amanajar.

³ H. = "plague of the firstborn."

⁴ Killed (†).

⁵ H. = "daughter of."

⁶ S. llegar.

⁷ †

⁸ H. = "tribes."

⁹ H. = "Egyptians."

¹⁰ S. ahogar.

¹¹ S. nos.

¹² S. redimir.

¹³ S. santuario.

III.¹

Ordinaré un kantar,
Nombri di Dyó enmentar,
Kē tornó a sementar
La sivdat² di Tevaryá.³

Bendiçu seya su nombri
En bōka di todū ombri,
Kē si menti i kē si nombri
La sivdat di Tevaryá.

Gozus i alegrias
Veyan⁴ en todus lus dias!
Kē si fragwi en sus dias
La sivdat di Tevaryá!

Den loōris al Dyó
Todū el kē es džidyó,
Porkē si tornó a rebivir
La sivdat di Tevaryá!

Eya ēra grandi su fama,—
Todū kē la vei la ama;
Si alegra muču la alma
Del aver⁵ di Tevaryá.

Vyendu tal klaru aver,
Kē es gran koza di ver,—
Es muy sana al beber
La agwa di Tevaryá.

Zexut⁶ grandi tuvimus,
Kē en eya kuvdisimus,⁷
Vyendu la lugo⁸ fragwimus
Al kal⁹ di Tevaryá.

Xaznés¹⁰ si gastarian,
Syertu kē nōn abastarian,
Porkē vinyēran la džuderia
A morar en Tevaryá.

¹ Contained, in printed form, in *הארין ספר זמרת*, Livorno, 1820, from which it differs considerably. It is arranged in order of the Hebrew alphabet.

² S. *ciudad*.

⁵ H. = "air."

⁸ S. *luego*.

³ "Tiberiah."

⁶ H. = "advantage."

⁹ H. = "temple building."

⁴ S. *vean*.

⁷ O. S. *codiciat*, *cobdiciat* (F.).

¹⁰ T. = "treasure."

Tyempu muču xwé pasadu,
Kē estava dizyertadu,
Por miñan¹ ēra minguadu
Para kadiš² en Tevaryá.

Yena ēra di espinus,
En lugar di aver pinus,
Alarzis,³ tambyen enzinus
En el lugar di Tevaryá.

Komu antis la alavavan
I su frutu estimavan,
En Yerušalaim nōn si ayavan⁴
Las frutas di Tevaryá.

Loōris al Dyó darēmus,
Tan byen lu alavarēmus,—
Muy prestu mus artarēmus
De lus visyus di Tevaryá.

Mas kē es lugar di folgar,
Para umoris fregar,—
Nōn ay en ningun lugar
Las lidžas⁵ di Tevaryá.

Nōn mi kedó repozu
Di alavar al Poderozu,
Tambyen di Meriam el podzu⁶
En la mar di Tevaryá.

Erex⁷ nōn tyeni ni tal,
Ni sin eya su metal,
Kē el Rav Rebi Xia Vital
Las bevyó en Tevaryá.

Privadu xwé al estanti,
Kē xwé koza di enkanti,
Sensya lē vino abastanti
Supito⁸ en Tevaryá.

Tsadik⁹ es el kē es gozer,¹⁰
Remedyu mire di azer,

¹ H. = "number" (especially as much as are needed to form a religious assembly).

² H. = "prayer for the dead."

³ Cf. *alarze* (F.).

⁴ S. *hallar*.

⁵ A Spanish Jew gave me as the meaning of this word "springs."

⁶ S. *pozo*.

⁷ H. = "value."

⁸ Cf. F.

⁹ H. = (?)

¹⁰ H. = "saint."

Venid i tomad plazer
Di gozar en Tevaryá.¹

Reyalis seran venidus,
Ayí seran akužidus²
Lus kē estan esparzidus
En las plasas di Tevaryá.

Syertu ayí tornarán
Lus sanedrin džuzgaran,³
Di ayí si rexmirán
En prima di Tevaryá.

Teilot⁴ al Dyó darēmus,—
Kantar muēvu⁵ kantarēmus,
A Yerušalaím mandarēmus
Di akí di Tevaryá.

Muču byen si sta azyendu
En la sivdat di Tevaryá,
Kē prestu mi va ir riyendu
A la sivdat di Tevaryá.

IV.

Kwandu el rē Nimrod al kampu salia
Vidó una boz⁶ grandí a la džuderia,⁷
Kē iva di naser Avraam, nvestru padri.
La mužer di Terax kedó preñada,
Di dia en dia lē priguntava:
“Di kē teneš la kara tan dimudada?”
I eya savia lu kē tenia,
Doloris tenia i parir keria.
Fuyera⁸ si por lus kampus sovri istar perdita,
Entró en una meará,⁹ ayí lu pariria.
Lugo kē lu pariria, el niñu favlaria:
“Vayaš, mi madri, a la su kaza,
Kē yō ya tenia ken mē alečaria,—
Andžel di Dyó a mi kriaria.”
Al fin di oču dias lu xwé a vezítar;¹⁰
Lu topó en la agwa tomandu tevilá,¹¹
Grandi zexut tuvi, kē esti aparidu.

¹ After this a strophe is lacking.

² S. *acoger*.

³ S. *juzgar*.

⁴ H. = “prayers.”

⁵ S. *nuevo*.

⁶ S. *voz*.

⁷ S. *judería*.

⁸ S. *huir*.

⁹ H. = “cave.”

¹⁰ S. *visitar*.

¹¹ H. = “bath”

Fin di kinzi dias lu xwé a vežitar,
 Lu topó meldandu¹ la gimará.²
 Fin di venti dias lu xwé a vežitar:
 Lu topó un mansevu, mansevu di saltar.
 "Kē buškaš, mi madri, i vos por akí?"
 Bušku yō al mi fižu, mi fižu Avraam,
 Al mi fižu presyadu, kē a paridu aka."
 "A las oras di agora lu veniš a buškar,
 Kwandu kē fin agora si lu kumyó³ la xayá,⁴
 Esti kē sintyó su madri, kayó si para atras.
 "No vos kaygaš, mi madri, ni vos para atras!
 Yō so vwestru fižu, vwestru fižu Avraam,
 Vwestru fižu presyadu, kē lu pariteš aká."

V.

Si kereš kē yō vos kanti
 La kantiga del boračon,—
 La semana entēra lazdra,⁵
 Pará⁶ en bolsa nōn kedó.
 Ya kunosi Sabatyá
 La maña del bevedor,
 Nōn lē dava vinu puru,
 Kē lu fazi matador.
 Si venia para kaza
 Al iskuru, si kai para un kanton.
 Lus fižikus, kē lu vyerun,
 A reir si mityerun.
 "Kē vos reiš, fižus di un peru?
 Kē boračo nōn sto yō.
 Andá, yamá a la vwestra madri,
 Kē favlar lē kero yō."
 "Ven akí, fiža d'un peru,
 Tēlas di mi kurazon!
 Da 'kí esta redoma di vinu,
 Asta kē do un ėupon!
 "Andá i yamá a las vezinas,
 Maldezir las kero yō."
 Estas palavras dizaendu,
 Patišan si enxazinó.⁷

¹ *Meldar* is the Jud.-Span. word for "reading."² H. = "gemara."³ S. *comer*.⁴ H. = "beast."⁵ S. *lazarar*.⁶ T. = "money."⁷ *Enxazinár* (to grow ill), from O. S. *hazino* or *hacino* = *mezquino* (M.), from Ar. *hazin*, "sad."

"Mužer mia, la mi mužer,
 Una palavra vus vo¹ a dezir yō!
 Kwandu el ayá si mueri,
 Nōn vus estēs a kazar vos.
 "Kwandu el ayá si mueri,
 Kē lē agaš el su kavod!"²
 Estas palavras dizyendu,
 Patišan areventó.³
 "Vení akí sus xaverim,⁴
 Yevaldu⁵ a betaxaim!"⁶
 En medžu del kaminu
 Sintyó a pregunar⁷ vinu.
 "Esperá vos, mis xaverim,
 Fin kē gosto del vinu!"
 Si vinyerun para kaza,
 Lu dešarun⁸ a el ayí.
 El si tornó a kaza,
 Topó a la mužer en čupá.⁹
 Esti kē ya vido a la mužer,
 Kē estava en čupá,
 Xwé si a topar mužer
 A tomar a eskožer.
 El si alava kē es džustu,
 Kē vinu nunka nōn gostó,—
 Añus tenia diez i seš,
 Raki¹⁰ nōn savi lu kē es.
 Patišan ya si disposa
 Kon una negra mas kē el.
 Kē lē manda di prezenti
 Un dukadu para la frenti.
 Ya lu toma eya en la manu,
 Ya lu yēva a la meané:¹¹
 Ya si bevi las syen dramas,
 I no lē parēsi nada.
 "Asi biva Sabatyá,
 Kē mi de otra medža livra,
 Kē mi va venir el novyu
 I kon čef¹² kero star yō."
 Ya si vyeni por la kaye

¹ S. *voy*.² H. = "honor."³ Cf. S. *reventar*.⁴ H. = "comrades."⁵ S. *Llevadlo*.⁶ H. = "cemetery."⁷ S. *pregonar*.⁸ S. *dejar*.⁹ "Women's club."¹⁰ T. = "liquor."¹¹ T. = "tavern."¹² "Pleasure."

Di ladu a ladu si kayi
 Kwandu ya si entró en kaza,
 Si rompyó lus ožus¹ en la mēza.
 El novyu ya lē venia,
 Eya no si mineya.
 Ya entró el novyu en kaza,
 La topó kayida en la mēza;
 Ya la faya² a la novya
 Intēñida di kára boyá.³
 "Asi bivaš, la mi novya,
 Andi fiziteš esta boyá?
 Kē di vos sentir el gwezmu,⁴
 Dizmayar ya mi vo yō.
 Da mi a gustar un pōku.,
 Kē ya vo a salir loku.
 "Avra esta portezika,
 Ayi sta la redomika!
 Intēra nōn se la bēva,
 Porkē el alma mi yēva."
 Ya la toma en la bōka,
 Si bēvi intēra la ōka.⁵
 "Mučus aňus kē mē biva,
 Esta la novya mia!"

VI.

Fiza, si ti vas kon tu maridu,
 Mira di onorar lu i servir lu,—
 Spanta ti di el komu el inimigu!

Fiza, si ti vas kon tu amadu,
 Faz tē la mēza, meti li el platu,—
 Spanta ti di el komu el inimigu!

Fiza, si ti vas kon tu estimadu,
 Mira di amar lu i estimar lu,
 Spanta ti di el komu el inimigu!

Fiza, si tu vas kon tu regaladu,
 Meti li la mēza, skansya⁶ li el vazu,
 Spanta ti di el komu el inimigu!

¹ S. ožos.² S. kallar.³ T. = "black paint."⁴ "Smell."⁵ T. = "about 1½ quarts."⁶ S. escanciar.

VII.¹

Paryēra mi la mi madri
 En una eskura muntina,
 Ondi nōn kantava gayu
 Ni mēnus kanta gayina,
 Ondi bramavan leonis,
 La leona arespondia.
 Syeti añus le di di leči
 Di una leona parida:
 Syeti añus le di del pan,
 Del pan kē yō komia:
 Syeti i syeti son katorzi,—
 A la niña se le entendia.
 Mandi la a merkar² farina,
 Dizia kē non savia;
 Mandi la a merkar azēti,
 Dizia kē nōn podia.
 Aravyō si el mōru i la mōra,
 Di kaza la ečaria;
 Arimō si en un kastiyu
 Por ver pasar kompañia.
 Por ayi pasó un kavayēru
 Ke de la gera venia:
 "Si te plazia, la niña,
 Venir en mi kompañia!"
 "Byen mi plazi a mi alma
 Byen mi plazi a mi vista!"
 "O ti plazia en la anka,
 O ti plazia en la siya?"³
 "Mas mi plazia en la anka,
 Kē mas onra mi seria!"
 En medžu del kaminu
 Di amoris le prometia.
 "Stati, stati, el kavayēru,
 Stati, stati, por tu vida!
 Kē todū ombri, kē a mi toka,
 Mala toka tokaria!
 Kē so fiža del rē malatu
 I dela rēna malatia!"
 Estu kē sintyō el kavayēru
 Del kavayu la ečaria.
 Si muču kori el kavayēru,

¹ Another version of it in Danon's collection.² "Buy."³ S. silla.

Ma mas muĉu kori la niĉa.
 A la entrada dela sivdat
 La niĉa si sonreia.
 "Kĕ ti sonries, ni alma,
 Kĕ ti sonries, mi vista!"
 "Mi sonrio, kavayĕru,
 Di tu negra boveria,
 Kĕ tenyendu mi al ladu
 Di mis favlas ti spantĕrias!
 Tenyendu la niĉa en el kampu
 Di mis favlas ti spantarias:
 Tenyendu la niĉa en las manus
 Le katatiĥ kurtezia!"
 Estu kĕ sintyĕ el kavayĕru .
 Dezmayadu kedaria;
 Ni si retorna kon agwa
 Ni mĕnus kon melizinas,¹
 Sinon en trĕs palavrikas
 Kĕ la niĉa le diria.

¹S. medicina.

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LEO WIENER.

[To be concluded.]

